BIBLIOTHECA ROFFENSIS

LETTER

TO THE

Norfolk Militia,

UPON THE

PROCEEDINGS

OF

A DUMPLING-EATER.

LONDON.

ERRATA.

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To the RIGHT HONOURABLE

GEORGE,

EARL of ORFORD,

Lord Lieutenant of the County of NORFOLK.

MY LORD,

YOUR remarkable Candour and Affability have encouraged a Perſon, unknown to you, to perſuade himſelf, that this Dedication of the following Letter to your Lordſhip, will not be condemned as Preſumption or Impertinence; ſince it is intended as a Means to render its Peruſal more general, and ſo to make its Deſign more effectually anſwered, in promoting the ſame Spirit of Loyalty towards your King; of Patriotiſm towards

towards your Country; and of Courteouſneſs towards your Officers and People, which hath ſo eminently appeared in the Execution of your important Office.

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble,

and obedient Servant,

The AUTHOR.

A LETTER TO THE NORFOLK Militia, &c.

My Brethren,

THE great Alacrity with which you enliſted into the Service of your Country, and the ardent Zeal you have ſo lately expreſſed in your loyal Addreſs to the King, of defending his Throne and our Liberties, demands the Applauſe of every *Briton*. As an *Engliſhman* then, it did not become me to be ſilent in your Praiſes; but as a Native of the County which hath produced ſo many Patriots, I thought my Obligation ſtill greater, to acknowledge the Honour you have done it, by this eminent Inſtance of your Bravery and Reſolution.

The Diſpoſition of a People can never be ſo truly diſcovered as when they are en-

compaſſed with Danger, ſince then they muſt either courageouſly oppoſe it, or tamely ſubmit themſelves to its Fury; and perhaps a better Opportunity of this Kind never offered itſelf before. The Flames of War have raged for ſome Time over the reſt of *Europe*; but they are now ſpreading even to this very Kingdom, and a powerful Invaſion actually threatens us with Ruin.

You have ſhewn yourſelves, my Brethren, ready to extinguiſh the dreadful Ravages that may attend it, whilſt the Counties of *B—e*, *O—e*, *R—e*, *S—e*, and *N— e*, with ſeveral others, that could be mentioned, have not only long neglected to execute that Law which was ſo wiſely appointed for their defence, but, notwithſtanding the preſent critical Juncture of Affairs hath in ſome Meaſure endangered the very Welfare of the State, yet they ſtill remain in Indolence and Inactivity.—It was an Opinion of old, that the different Diſpoſitions of Mankind depended upon their different Climates, and that the Acuteneſs of the *Greek*, the Craftineſs of the *African*, and the Dulneſs of the *Gaul* proceeded from this Cauſe.

The Strength and Vigour of the *Swede*, and *Muſcovite*, when compared with the Weakneſs and Effeminacy of the *Italian*, may alſo prove that Conſtitutions are differently affected,

affected, by the different Regions which they inhabit.

But what Reaſon can be aſſigned, why Men, that are born in the ſame Country, and of the ſame Parents, ſhould not be influenced by the ſame Principles?

It is not ſurely to be imagined that any *Engliſhman* can be inſenſible of the Excellence of the Government he lives under, and of the Bleſſings that are derived to him from the Preſervation of his Perſon and Property; ſo if civil Advantages alone could inſpire a People with Fortitude, we ſhould then undoubtedly ſee the Sword unanimouſly drawn for their Support.

Therefore, my Brethren, doth not the Lethargy, which is ſo general, and ſcarcely to be awakened by all the Clamours of War, inconteſtably prove, that the Mind is greatly affected by the different Habits of the Body; and that your ſuperior Bravery and Fortitude, the natural Conſequence of ſuperior Strength and Conſtitution, entirely proceeds from your peculiar Uſe of that Staff of Life, the *Dumpling*?

Your Anceſtors were always diſtinguiſhed from their Neighbours by their Attachment to this excellent Food, and were indiſputably enabled by it, to perform thoſe glorious Atchievements, for which they are ſo much celebrated in Hiſtory. Its Qualities then de-

ſerve to be remembered by the lateſt Poſterity, ſince to theſe alone muſt it be aſcribed, that whilſt Luxury and Libertiniſm have totally perverted the Manners and Conſtitution of all other Nations, when the Love of Liberty and of his Country in the *Grecian* is degenerated into the abject Slavery of the *Turk*, the Virtue and Heroiſm of the *Roman* is melted down into the Softneſs and Delicacy of the *Italian*, and the Roughneſs and Valour of the *Gaul* is changed into the Weakneſs and Timidity of the *Frenchman*; that you alone, amidſt this general Depravation, ſhould remain unſpotted in your Manners, and that the preſent Race of Dumpling-eaters ſhould be animated with the ſame Courage and Bravery, to repel the Aſſaults and *dreadful flat-bottom'd Boats* of their oſtentatious Enemies, as were their Forefathers, the valiant *Iceni*, when, with *Boadicea* at their Head, they cut off Seventy Thouſand *Romans* at *Maldon*.

The good Effects, which this temperate Food hath produced upon your Conſtitutions, by preſerving all its Faculties in their natural Strength, and making you capable of every Action that can be performed by Men, ſhould particularly engage your Contemporaries to reflect upon its real Value.

But alas! unhappy *Britain*, how are your Sons corrupted by their infatuated Love of

that wanton deſtructive Invention the *Pudding!* how are they enervated in their Bodies, and effeminated in their Minds by this voluptuous Faſhion! how are they incapacitated from the Exerciſe of thoſe civil and military Virtues, which the Welfare of the publick may require! how are they enſlaved to all the moſt contemptible Pleaſures and Amuſements which Sin or Folly can contrive?

May then the Ollio's, Ragouts, Fricaſees, Haſhes, and all the pernicious Species of *Haſty-puddings*, which are become ſo general, be for ever baniſhed; and may the *Norfolk* Dumpling (or upon a Holiday, the harmleſs Flour quaking, apple, plumb or ſuet Pudding) with its Attendants, *plain, roaſt and boiled*, be again reſtored! May thoſe Diſhes, which once graced the Boards of our Kings and Nobles, which invigorated our *Edwards* and our *Henrys*, to humble theſe inveterate Foes, again revive the *Britiſh* Valour, and again convince the neutral Nations of the Difference between the Soup-meagre of *France*, and the Beef of *England!*

The Antients were ſo ſenſible of the bad Effects of Luxury, that Imprecations were engraved upon a Pillar in *Thebes*, againſt *Menes* for introducing it among the *Egyptians*; and ſo contemptuouſly did they treat its Favourers, that (if a learned Critic may be believed) when any Perſons were remarkable

for their frequent Banquets and Entertainments, they were always diſtinguiſhed by the ludicrous Appellation of being *pudding headed.*

Theſe Set of People were ſeldom entruſted with the Affairs of the State, and whenever they were engaged in any publick Matters, by the Influence of their ſuperior Intereſt; then a Defect of Judgment in the Adminiſtration of them, or of Conduct and Courage in their Execution, was the conſtant Reſult. The Moderns indeed, as taught by the Examples of preceding Ages, have, for the moſt Part, obſerved this excellent Rule, and ſo avoided the Conſequences that would attend the Tranſgreſſion of it. But if any Inſtance can be produced of improper Meaſures having been taken in the Tranſaction of national Buſineſs in this or any other Kingdom within this laſt Century, they may be infallibly imputed to the Management of a *Pudding headed* Miniſter.

The antients thought the mental Accompliſhments of the Soldier as well as the Stateſman, was of the laſt Importance to inſure Succeſs; and *Chabrias*, the *Athenian*, uſed to ſay that an Army of Stags, with a Lion for their Leader, was much more dreadful than an Army of Lions led on by a Stag, that is (as theſe Creatures, on account of the Strength and Courage of the one, and

of the Imbecillity and Fearfulneſs of the *other*, are very proper Emblems of the *Dumpling* and *Pudding-eater)* an Army of Pudding-eaters, under the Conduct of a Dumpling-eater, is much more formidable than an Army of Dumpling-eaters with a Pudding-eater for their general.

The Moderns are ſo unfortunate as to be able to ſhew Examples of the Truth of this Obſervation; and I am apprehenſive that you will immediately recollect, that the Affair at *Minorca*, the Expedition to *Rochefort* and *St. Cas*, will prove that the *Athenian* was not miſtaken.

But you are left to your Liberty to aſſign the Cauſe of theſe Misfortunes, either to a Defect of Conduct in the Commanders, from their being of the *pudding headed* Party, or to a natural Antipathy which theſe Gentlemen might have to a particular Species of *Dumplings* of late Invention, whoſe Virtues are ſo eminent as to be placed above all Law, to decide all Diſputes, to ſettle all Rights or Privileges, and even to preſcribe Limits to the Dominion of Kings; they only differ from the famous *Norfolk* Dumpling in this Reſpect, that, inſtead of *Flour*, they are made of *Lead* and *Iron*.

The Introduction of Luxury was once made uſe of to weaken and vitiate a courageous and warlike People. When *Cyrus*

had conquered *Cræſus* King of *Lydia*, and taken him Priſoner, he heard that *Sardis*, the principal City of his new Empire had revolted, ſo he threatened to deſtroy the People for their Rebellion,

But *Cræſus* ſaid, Sir, you have too much Reaſon for what you ſay, yet you will do better to moderate your Indignation and not to deſtroy an antient City. But to the End that they may never more revolt or be troubleſome to you, command all their Arms to be taken from them, and enjoin them to wear Veſts and Buſkins, to teach their Sons to ſing, to play upon the Harp, and to drink in publick Houſes. For by this means you will ſoon ſee the manly Spirit of the *Lydians* degenerated into womaniſh Weakneſs; ſo that they will never rebel, nor be formidable to you in time to come.

Providence hath happily preſerved us from the Tyranny of a modern *Cyrus*; but if we reflect upon the contemptible Faſhions which *France* and *Italy* have tranſported amongſt us, if we conſider the numerous trifling Pleaſures which do now prevail, may it not be apprehended that the manly Spirit of the *Engliſh* will degenerate into the womaniſh Weakneſs; may it not be feared, that a Nation compoſed of effeminate Fops and voluptuous Epicures, will ſome time or other fall a Prey to their ambitious Enemies? But Levity apart!

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The preſent Growth of Luxury in theſe Kingdoms is too notorious to eſcape the Obſervation of the moſt common Spectator; and the bad Effects it hath produced in corrupting the Manners of the People too conſiderable to be neglected; but though the Vices of a Nation deſerve to be ridiculed, yet the Scene before us is of too great a Moment to be treated with Indifference. The conſeſequences of War are often terrible, and its Event uncertain; theſe Reflections then muſt always create a particular Concern and Anxiety in the contending Parties.

We have yet been Strangers to its horrid Devaſtations; but ſhould not the Enormities which are practiſed, and the Cruelties which are committed in thoſe unfortunate Countries which are ſtill the Seat of it, excite us with the greateſt Diligence to engage in every Means that may be inſtrumental in defeating the leaſt Attempt that may be made to introduce it here? It is true indeed, that every Meaſure which Prudence could ſuggeſt, or Experience juſtify, hath been purſued under the preſent Adminiſtration of a wiſe and honeſt Miniſter; and that the Succeſs of our Arms under the Conduct of able valiant Officers, have been as proſperous as could be expected; and that our Fleet triumphantly commands the Ocean.

But

But is not the *End* ſtill dubious? have not the moſt unexpected Occurrences often blaſted the faireſt Proſpect? may not the wiſeſt Meaſures be diſconcerted, and the moſt powerful Navy in the World be deſtroyed by an unruly Element of Nature? Since Victory muſt always be thus inconſtant, is not every Expedient to be tried, and every Endeavour to be practiſed, for the Preſervation of our Lives and Country?

The Militia hath been inſtituted as an Eſtabliſhment that would be conducive to the more effectual Execution of this great Deſign; but as the Sentiments of Mankind are greatly influenced by their different Intereſts and Education, and muſt be for ever various, ſo long as the Patriot, the Merchant, and the Soldier, can never think alike; it is not then to be wondered at, that this Appointment, as well as others, ſhould meet with both Opponents and Advocates.

The *one* tell us, that as the Provinces of War and Commerce are ſo extremely different, the Introduction of Arms amongſt a trading People would ſeparate them from their Buſineſs, obſtruct Trade, and be altogether inconſiſtent with the fundamental Intereſts of the Nation; or they obſerve, that as great Diſcipline is requiſite to complete a Soldier in his manual Exerciſe and Evolutions, ſo the

the Time appointed for inſtructing the Militia is inſufficient, and that they would be entirely uſeleſs; or they urge, that a People being acquainted with the Uſe of Arms would probably be attended with great Danger to the Society, as they would then more readily join in Conſpiracies and Rebellion.

The *other* on the contrary, are of Opinion, that no conſiderable Interruption can be given to Trade, when only 30,000 Men out of the whole Nation are exerciſed for a few Days in the Year, and not an eighth Part of this Number belong to a Manufactory, or are concerned in any Buſineſs that would ſuffer by ſo ſhort an abſence from it: They alſo think that, notwithſtanding theſe people could not perform their Exerciſe with the Expertneſs of a Veteran, yet that they would certainly be more uſeful, upon any Emergency, than a diſorderly Mob; ſince after three Months conſtant Diſcipline, they would be qualified to ſupply the leſs important Poſts of Defence, or to be incorporated with Regulars in the Field: That a general Knowledge of Arms, would not expoſe a State to Rebellion any more than at preſent, ſince the obedient Subject would have the ſame Inſtruments to quell it, as the Conſpirator has to raiſe it.

Thus

Thus different are the Opinions of Mankind upon this Subject. But an impartial Spectator, who reflects upon the Power of *France* by Land, of the Shortneſs of the Paſſage to this Kingdom (which in ſome Places could be performed in five Hours, in others in ſeven or eight Hours) and upon the Nature of our Coaſts; will certainly conclude, that a conſiderable Army, with a Convoy ſufficient to protect them from an inferior Force, might by the Advantage of the Wind and Tide, eſcape the moſt powerful Fleet, and be landed: If withal he reflects upon the Inability of the few Regulars in the Time of War (when moſt of them are draughted off for the Defence of our Colonies,) that may be left in the Kingdom, to oppoſe an army of 30,000 Men, he muſt think that an Invaſion, however dangerous it may appear to execute, is an Undertaking worthy to be attempted by the Enemy, when its Succeſs may overturn the Kingdom, and its Failure only end in their being taken Priſoners.

Theſe Conſiderations muſt certainly demonſtrate the Neceſſity of ſome ſuperior Forces to be raiſed; for if a Body of irregular Rebels could march into the Heart of a Country without Reſiſtance, an Army of *French* Troops might do the ſame. Theſe Forces then are either to be raiſed by an Addi-

Addition to the Army, or by a Militia; and the only Queſtion left to be decided is, whether a State is better ſecured by being defended by a *Man of Property* or a *Mercenary?*

But I will decline advancing any farther Arguments upon this Subject, at preſent, leſt, like the poor Man's Voice in the City, they be not heard; and will proceed to the principal Deſign of this Letter, which was to lay before you the Actions and Proceedings of former Nations when engaged in War.

In the Courſe of which you will perceive, that Indolence and Luxury were always baniſhed by a People, who were actuated with any Conceptions of Honour and Virtue; that the Promotion or Revival of martial Bravery in a State always advanced its Reputation and Intereſt; that the Cultivation of Morals both in publick and private Life, always produced ſuch a civil Harmony in the Community, as to make it happy at Home, and a Terror to its Enemies Abroad.

You may alſo obſerve, the contrary Effects of Luxury, Intemperance, and Diſſenſions; that by theſe, Authority hath often degenerated into Oppreſſion, and Liberty into Licentiouſneſs; and that moſt of the Evils which have deſtroyed a State, have been derived from theſe Cauſes.

It cannot ſurely be diſpleaſing to you my Brethren, whom Providence hath now placed upon the Theatre of Life, to behold the Actions and Policy of thoſe Ages which have appeared before you, ſince you may be inſtructed to avoid thoſe Vices, and purſue thoſe Virtues, which have been injurious or beneficial to their Welfare. The Stateſman or the Soldier perhaps could not form a Model of their Conduct from the Patriots and Heroes of Greece and Rome, ſince Policy and War amongſt the Moderns are ſo extremely different from theirs.

The Diſcovery of the Uſe of the Compaſs, and of *America*, hath greatly extended Trade (the chief Support of modern Nations) and this hath produced ſuch Dependencies, Connections, Balances of Power, and political Regimens, as were unknown to the ancient World; ſo that the Method and Art of War are likewiſe extremely altered and improved by the Invention of Gunpowder and Fortification.

But Hiſtory is not without its Uſe to theſe Gentlemen; though the Stateſman could not exactly imitate *Pericles*, or the Soldier *Hannibal*; yet the *one* may diſcover the different Effects of different Forms of Government; the Cauſes that have produced Virtues or Vices in a People, and the various Influence they have had upon a Community: He may

ſee

ſee by what means a State hath been advanced from Weakneſs to Power, and hath again revolved from Liberty to Servitude; and the *other* perhaps be inſtructed by the Induſtry of *Hannibal*, or the Delays of *Fabius*; or (like *Themiſtocles*, who could not ſleep on Account of the Trophies that were ſhewn in Honour of *Miltiades*) be animated to emulate the Heroes of Antiquity.

But the ſubject of this Letter, my Brethren, is confined to your Uſe alone at this critical Juncture; for as the Safety of a Veſſel, endangered by a Storm, depends upon the Conduct of the Mariners as well as Knowledge of the Pilot, ſo every Method to regulate this Conduct, is to be experienced; and perhaps the Examples of the conſtant Effects of Virtue and Vice in former Ages will have greater Influence with you than any other Advice; for you know that Hiſtory is a Counſellor, which no Authority can ſilence, no Party intimidate, nor any Intereſt can corrupt; and that you may ſecurely rely upon the Records of the Dead.

But as Hiſtory would be only a Picture which might poſſibly entertain the Eye, but convey no Information to the Mind, unleſs the ſeveral Cauſes and Circumſtances which have conſpired to produce particular Events be likewiſe known; I ſhall, in this ſhort

Abſtract,

Abſtract, endeavour to explain the firſt Principles of Government, and how far the Manners of a People have contributed to their Growth or Ruin.

Writers have been fond of comparing the *political Body* to the *natural one*; they tell us that the Duration of each is limited to a certain Period, which may be either ſhortened or preſerved according to the different State of its Conſtitution.

The Juſtneſs of this Obſervation ſeems to be confirmed by Facts, ſince we ſhall find that they both are ſubject to be deſtroyed, by internal as well as external Cauſes; and that morbid Humours are not more deſtructive to the human Frame, than a Corruption of Manners in the People to a Community.

The Remedy for theſe Diſorders have always been equally the Concern of the Legiſlator and the Phyſician; and however different Syſtems of Policy have prevailed amongſt different Nations, yet the Regulation of the Paſſions in a People have always been as much conſidered by the *one*, as the Correction of the Humours in the human Body by the *other*.

Lycurgus eaſily perceived that certain Events muſt neceſſarily proceed from particular Cauſes; and that ſince a Community might decay as Iron doth by Ruſt, or Wood by Worms, ſo he endeavoured to prolong,

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if not immortalize the *Spartan* State, by providing againſt every Diſorder that could attack its *Head*, *Body*, or *Limbs*; and by that Means raiſed the nobleſt Structure of Policy that human Intellect could form.

He apprehended that a Monarchy would degenerate into a Tyranny, an Ariſtocracy into an Oligarchy, and a Democracy into an Ochlocratia or the brutal State of Power undirected by Prudence; ſo he joined all the Virtues and good Properties of other Governments in ſuch a manner, that none of them might prevail over the reſt, and fall into its Attendant Vice; but that the Power of each ſhould equiponderate, and be preſerved by their mutual Action on one another.

Thus the King would be impeded from ill Conduct and Imprudence by a Power in the People, and the People be reſtrained from behaving contemptuouſly towards the King, by the Influence of the Nobles, and either Party might be ſtrengthened by the Union of the third.

He then laid down Rules for the Education of Children, and for the Exerciſe and modeſt Behaviour of Youth; and as that Age is moſt vehement in their Deſires of Pleaſure, ſo they were always employed in the greateſt Labours and largeſt Variety of Occupations. He ordered their Meals to be

public that no Extravagancy might be introduced; and forbad the Uſe of any unneceſſary Liquors, that they might not be enervated by Gluttony and Drunkenneſs.

The young Men kept Company with the old ones, that they might be inſtructed by their Example and Experience; and whenever they performed any Action, that promoted the good of the Commonwealth, it was always publiſhed at their common Banquets.

The Idle Man was treated with great Infamy at *Sparta*, he was obliged to ſtand among his Juniors, to bring up his Daughters at Home, and not to ſuffer his Wife to go Abroad; he was prohibited from anointing or ornamenting himſelf, and from imitating Men of Reputation, unleſs he ſubjected himſelf to be whipt by his Superiors. Such were the Laws of *Sparta*, and by her Adherence to them ſhe became the moſt powerful City in *Greece*, and her People were always diſtinguiſhed for Strength and Valour.

When *Xerxes* tranſported an Army over the *Helleſpont*, and threatened the *Grecian* States with Slavery, *Leonidas* and his *Spartan* Followers ſtopt their immenſe Powers at the Streights of *Thermopylæ*, and made the *Perſian*, at the Head of 1700000 Foot and 80000 Horſe, tremble at their Intrepidity: for

for notwithſtanding they were betrayed, yet they determined to die rather than deſert their Poſt, and ſo inviolably obeyed that Law of their Country which commanded them never to fly from an Enemy, and either to conquer or fall in the Battle. So delicate were the *Spartans* in their Principles of Honour and Fortitude, that notwithſtanding *Ariſtodemus* was permitted by *Leonidas* to retire to *Alpeni* for an Indiſpoſition in his Eyes; yet he was ſuſpected of Cowardice, for not being preſent at this Engagement; and they afterwards called him *Ariſtodemus the Fugitive*, and would neither converſe with him, nor allow him the Uſe of Fire; and *Pantites*, who was ſent on a Meſſage to *Theſſaly*, and eſcaped this Action, was ſo affected with the Reproaches of his Countrymen that he ſtrangled himſelf.

Athens was the rival City to *Sparta*, and was famous amongſt her Contemporaries for the Acuteneſs and Power of her People; but the Form of her Government which was democratical, expoſed the *Athenians* to frequent Changes in its Conſtitution, and produced amongſt them all the Factions and Confuſion to which Intrigue or Artifice could lead a Multitude.

The Love of Liberty and of their Country prevailed amongſt the *Athenians* to an unlimited Degree, as it will appear by the

following Inſtance: They had defeated the *Perſian* Fleet off *Salamis*, and weakened the Power of their Enemies for the preſent; but *Mardonius* was ſtill left in *Theſſaly* by *Xerxes* at the Head of 300000 of his choiceſt Troops. This General ſent *Alexander* the Son of *Amyntas* with Propoſals of Peace to them; yet notwithſtanding their City was deſtroyed and plundered, they could not be perſuaded to agree to any Terms of Reconciliation; but returned this Anſwer by the Meſſenger "We know that the Forces of "the *Medes* are far greater than ours, yet in "order to preſerve our Liberty we will de-"fend ourſelves as long as we can. Go "then, and tell *Mardonius*, that the *Athe-*"*nians* declare, they will never make Peace "with *Xerxes* ſo long as the Sun continues "to perform his Courſe, but are reſolved to "reſiſt him to the laſt Extremity."

Mardonius, at the Return of *Alexander*, led his Army towards *Athens*, and arriving at *Bœotia*, the *Thebans* went to him and ſaid, that their Country was the moſt convenient for his Camp, and that if he would continue there, and advance no farther he might be Maſter of *Greece* without hazarding a Battle. That the *Grecians*, when unanimous, were ſo ſtrong as hardly to be conquered by all Mankind, which he had already experienced. But if, ſaid they, you

will

will do as we adviſe, you may, without Difficulty, fruſtrate their beſt concerted Meaſures: Send Money to the principal Perſons of every City; for by that Means you will ſplit *Greece* into Factions, and then you may eaſily ſubdue thoſe who are not in your Intereſts, and the factious at the ſame Time.

But *Mardonius* not following their Advice, the Battle of *Platæa* ſucceeded, in which the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians*, with ſome other States of *Greece*, which were their Confederates, and conſiſting of an Army of about 108,000 Men, fought and conquered *Mardonius* and his *Grecian* Allies, with the Loſs of 250,000 Men.

After this Victory the *Athenians* repaired their City and Walls, and, under the Conduct of *Cimon*, they reduced ſome Cities and Iſlands belonging to the *Medes*, as Reprizals for their late Injuries, and were continually advancing the Greatneſs of their State, by ſome new Acceſſion of Territory. But *Sparta* could not behold this Growth of the *Athenian* Power with Indifference; ſhe ſuſpected that the ſame Fleet which had been ſo inſtrumental in the Perſervation of *Greece*, might ſome time or other enſlave it.

This Jealouſly was alſo enflamed by an Application which the other States of *Greece* frequently made to theſe two principal Cities

for the Determination of all Controverſies which aroſe amongſt them, till at laſt their Diſſenſions were arrived to ſuch a Degree of Malignity that about fifty Years after the Defeat of *Xerxes*, they gave Birth to the *Peloponneſian* War.

Thus was that Union which had repelled the *Perſian*, and which might have ſubdued the World (as the *Athenians* at this Time had a Navy which commanded the Sea, and the *Lacedæmonians* were the beſt Soldiers by Land) at laſt diſſolved, and the Powers of *Greece* were now torn to Pieces by her own Offspring.

In this War, the Diſadvantages which the *Athenians* laboured under from their Democracy very manifeſtly appeared.

The wiſe Adminiſtration of *Pericles* had raiſed indeed their Affairs to the moſt proſperous Condition; and if they had purſued his Advice, in enlarging their Fleet, in engaging with no foreign Wars or domeſtic Diſputes, ſo long as the *Peloponneſian* War continued, its Event might probably have been ſucceſsful; but as improper Meaſures are always the Conſequence of the Management of Affairs being veſted in Perſons not ſufficiently acquainted with the real Intereſts of their Country, ſo the *Athenians* (whom *Polybius* compared to a Ship without a Pilot) being elated at a ſmall Advantage they had obtained

over

over the *Lacedæmonians*, and a Covenant of Peace, which on that Account had been made between them, were perſuaded by *Alcibiades* to ſend an Army to reduce *Sicily*.

This imprudent Undertaking was the original Cauſe of all their following Misfortunes; *Nicias* had plainly ſhewn them the Conſequence of it; he told them, that the *Lacedæmonians*, and their Confederates, together with the *Sicilians* themſelves, would certainly make War upon them if this Expedition did not ſucceed; and he alſo obſerved, that if they conquered the whole Iſland, its Diſtance was ſo great as to require a larger Army and Expences, than could be ſpared, in Order to keep it in Subjection; ſo that it would be Madneſs for them to engage in an Enterprize, the Succeſs of which could be of no Advantage to them, when its Failure might be their Ruin.

But an unthinking Multitude could not be influenced by the Voice of Wiſdom, ſo a powerful Army was ſent into *Sicily*, which after many ſucceſsleſs Attempts to reduce *Syracuſe*, and meeting with numberleſs dreadful Hardſhips, forty thouſand Men periſhed in the moſt miſerable Manner that Hiſtory ever mentioned.

The unhappy *Athenians* were deſerted by their own Confederates after this Misfortune, who thinking that they would be no longer

to ſupport a War, entered into an Alliance with the *Lacedæmonians*, and attacked the *Athenians* again with great Vigour; and after this general Commotion had continued in *Greece* about twenty eight Years, the *Athenians* were ſo cloſely beſieged by the *Lacedæmonians* and their Allies both by Sea and Land, that they were obliged to make a Peace with them upon their own Terms.

The *Thebans* and *Corinthians* indeed were of an Opinion, that no more Treaties ſhould be made with the *Athenians*, but that they ſhould be totally overthrown and ruined.

The *Lacedæmonians* generouſly anſwered, that it did not appear juſt to them to enſlave a City, which had afforded *Greece* ſuch great Aſſiſtance in its greateſt dangers. So they granted them a Peace, upon Condition that they pulled down their Walls, delivered up all their Ships, except twelve, and that they obeyed, both by Sea and Land, whatever Commands the *Spartans* ſhould ſend them.

Sparta had now no Rival left to eclipſe her Glory and perhaps in a few Years would have acquired the Sovereignty of *Greece*. But the *Lacedæmonians* being informed by *Herodas* a *Syracuſan*, that the *Perſians* were preparing a very large Fleet whoſe Deſtination was not known, ſo *Ageſilaus* was ſent into *Aſia* with an Army, in order to make a Diverſion of it from *Sparta*, where he layed waſte the Country with great Spoils.

Tithrauſtes,

Tithrauſtes, the King's Licutenant, or Deputy in the maritime Towns, perceiving that the *Perſians* were unable to oppoſe him, ſent *Timocrates* into *Greece* with large Sums of Money as Preſents to the principal Perſons of *Thebes*, *Corinth*, and *Argos*, who (as they were directed) perſuaded the People to form a Conſpiracy againſt *Sparta*, which the *Athenians* alſo joined, as encouraged with the Hopes of recovering their former Power.

The *Lacedæmonians* were greatly alarmed at theſe impending Dangers, ſo recalled *Ageſilaus* to defend his Country, and defeated the Conſpirators in ſeveral Engagements.

But the *Athenians* having in a few Years rebuilt their long Walls, by the Advice of *Conon*; and *Thraſybulus* having alſo ſailed with forty Ships to the *Helleſpont*, he brought over *Amadocus* the King of the *Odryſæ*, *Seuthes* a Governour of a maritime Town in *Thrace*, and the *Chalcedonians* to the *Athenian* Intereſt; he likewiſe reduced all the Cities in *Leſbos* that were allied to the *Lacedæmonians*, and the *Athenians* were now preparing a Fleet that might ſhortly recover their loſt Towns and Iſlands.

This Revival of their Affairs induced the *Spartans* to ſend *Antalcidas* to *Artaxerxes* the *Perſian* King with Propoſals of Peace, which were approved of, and readily embraced, both

both by the *Athenians* and *Argives*, as the former were apprehenſive that they might loſe the Advantage that *Thraſybulus* had obtained, and the latter knew that the *Spartans* were making great Preparations againſt them.

But War had now taken ſuch deep Root in *Greece*, as not eaſily to be eradicated, and this Soil of Liberty and Valour ſeemed now to be the very Nurſery of Contention. The *Lacedæmonians* did not long enjoy the Sweets of Peace, before they were embarked in new and unexpected Dangers. They had promiſed to reſtore all the *Grecian* Cities to their Liberty, but ſtill kept Poſſeſſion of the Citadel at *Thebes*.

The *Thebans*, conſcious of their Guilt in ſo lately conſpiring againſt them, were apprehenſive that the whole *Spartan* Power would revenge its late Injuries upon them, ſo they bribed *Sphodrias*, a *Spartan* Officer to take the *Piræum* at *Athens* by Surprize.

The Deſign of the *Thebans* was fully anſwered by this Treachery, (for the *Athenians* were ſo greatly incenſed at it, that a War again commenced between them, and the *Lacedæmonians)* ſo they took the expected Opportunity of increaſing and diſciplining their Army, of forming new Alliances, and in reducing moſt of the Cities in *Bœotia* under their Dominion.

This

This War indeed did not long continue before the *Athenians* were diſguſted, and began to ſuſpect the Proceedings of the *Thebans*, and a Peace was accordingly concluded between *Sparta* and *Athens*. But the *Theban* Power was now very conſiderable, as they proved at the fatal Battle of *Leuctra*, in which they ſlew *Cleombrotus* the *Lacedæmonian* General, and 4000 Men, and by one Blow almoſt extinguiſhed the whole Splendor and Glory of *Sparta*.

The *Thebans* were highly exalted at this important Conqueſt; they exerciſed the *Bœotians* in the Uſe of Arms, inſtructed them in military Diſcipline, and propoſed now in their turn to attempt the Sovereignty of *Greece*.

So they applied to *Athens* for Auxiliaries, and ſent *Pelopidas* to form an Alliance with the King of *Perſia*, but not being able to prevail upon their Confederates to agree to this Treaty, the Hopes of executing this Deſign entirely vaniſhed.

Epaminondas indeed could not eaſily give up the Thoughts of aggrandizing his Country, ſo he marched at the Head of the *Thebans*, *Eubœans*, and ſome *Theſſalians* into the *Peloponneſus*; and being informed that the *Lacedæmonian* Army was then in *Arcadia*, to ſettle ſome Diſputes that had aroſe between the *Arcadians* and *Mantineans*, he immediately marched againſt their City; but

but he found that *Spartan* Fortitude, when exerted in the Defence of their City, Wives, and Children, was invincible; for *Archidamus* at the Head of leſs than 100 Men, not only oppoſed the whole *Theban* Army, but attacked them in their advantageous Situation, on a riſing Ground, and entirely routed them.

Epaminondas was much chagrined at being defeated by this inferior Force, and withal conſidering his Entry into *Peloponneſus*, as the Cauſe of this Aſſociation between the *Lacedæmonians*, *Arcadians*, *Achæans*, and *Athenians*, he thought it would be improper to retreat without fighting a Battle; for a Victory would enable him to aboliſh this powerful Confederacy, and if he loſt his Life, he ſhould finiſh it with Honour, in thus attempting to acquire the Dominion of the *Peloponneſus* for his Country; ſo the Battle of *Mantinea* enſued, in which the *Thebans* had the Advantage; but *Epaminondas* being ſlain, they did not make a proper Uſe of it, and both Parties laying a Claim to the Victory, they were neither of them increaſed in any more Power, Cities, or Acceſſion of Territory, than before the Battle; but the general Confuſion and Diſturbances in *Greece* were greater than ever.

Such

Such was the unhappy State of the *Greeks*, when *Philip*, the Son of *Amyntas*, and Father of *Alexander*, aſcended the Throne of *Macedonia*, *Callimedes* being Archon at *Athens*, and *Cn. Genucius* and *L. Æmilius*, Conſuls at *Rome*.

This great Prince had been delivered to the *Illyrians* by his Father, as an Hoſtage for ſome Money they had lent him, and was educated at *Thebes* (where he was ſent by theſe People) under the ſame Tutor with *Epaminondas*. He entered upon his Kingdom, at a Time, when its Forces were much reduced, when the *Illyrians* were preparing to invade it, when the *Pæonians* laid waſte its Fields, and when the *Athenians* had ſent an Army and Fleet to place *Argæus* on the *Macedonian* Throne. His Subjects were in the greateſt Conſternation at theſe numerous Dangers; but *Philip*, not at all dejected, conſtantly attended their Counſels, inſtructed his People in the Uſe of Arms; and, in Imitation of the Heroes in the *Trojan* War, firſt inſtituted the *Macedonian* Phalanx. He made Uſe of every Means to encourage and ingratiate himſelf with his deſpairing Countrymen. He bribed the *Pæonians* to a Peace; he conquered the *Athenian* Army, and compelled the *Illyrians* to evacuate the *Macedonian* Cities, and ſo reſtored his domeſtic Affairs.

He

He then reduced *Amphipolis*, a City near *Thrace*, and went to *Crenidas*, which he called *Philippi* after his own Name; where he acquired great Treaſures from the Gold Mines in that Country, which were but little known before; ſo collected a powerful Army in order to enlarge his Empire.

But the Affairs of *Greece* did not eſcape the Obſervation of *Philip*; he perceived that theſe formidable People were continually reducing their Power, by their perpetual Contentions with each other, and that he might, ſome Time or other perhaps, make them fall a Prey to his Ambition.

The ſacred War (which had aroſe from the *Phocians* refuſing to pay a Fine, that was levied upon them by the States of *Greece*, for ploughing up ſome holy Land called *Cirrhæa*, divided the *Phocians*, *Athenians*, and *Lacedemonians*, on one Side, and the *Bæotians*, *Locrians*, *Theſſalians*, *Dorians*, *Dolopians*, and *Achæans*, on the other, and continued for Ten Years.

The *Bæotians* were defeated by the *Phocians*, and now being without either Money or Men, they applied to *Philip* for Aſſiſtance. He had reduced all the Cities in the *Helleſpont*, *Mecyberna*, and *Torone* being betrayed to him; and having corrupted *Euthycrates* and *Leoſthenes*, the principal Magiſtrates of *Olynthus* with Money, he took this important City by Treachery.

Demoſthenes

Demoſthenes, obſerving the growing Power of *Philip*, endeavoured to animate his Countrymen to engage in the Defence of *Greece*; but Perfidy and Treachery were ſo prevailing among theſe People at that Time, that this great Orator, with all the Powers of Eloquence, could not reſtrain this infamous Practice amongſt the *Athenians*.

This gave Occaſion to *Philip* to aſk, when any City was invincible by Arms, whether Gold could not be made to aſcend its Walls? He knew by Experience, that if he could not ſubdue a Country by Force, he could weaken it with Bribery; but now being requeſted to ſend Succours to the *Thebans*, he went with a powerful Army into *Bœotia*, and the *Phocians*, unable to oppoſe him, ſent Ambaſſadors with Terms of Accommodation, which being agreed to, an End was put to the ſacred War without a Battle. But a Rupture between *Philip* and the *Athenians* ſhortly enſued; for having taken *Perinthus*, a City in their Intereſt, he now laid Siege to *Byzantium*. The *Athenians* eſteeming this Action as a Violation of the Peace, they ſent a very conſiderable naval Aid to the *Byzantines*, in which the *Chians*, *Coans*, and *Rhodians* had joined. This powerful Union alarmed *Philip* ſo much, that he raiſed the Siege, and concluded an Alliance with the

Athenians

Athenians and other *Greeks* whom he ſuſpected to be his Enemies.

This Alliance indeed was the Veil under which he propoſed to execute his grand Deſign of obtaining the Sovereignty of *Greece*; he conſidered the *Athenians* as the moſt powerful of any of its States, and that the Conqueſt of theſe People would greatly facilitate his Project; he alſo thought that this would be beſt effected by attacking them in the Time of Peace and unprepared to make a ſtrong Reſiſtance. So he collected all his Forces together, imparted his Reſolution to them, and having ſuddenly ſeized upon *Elatea*, he marched immediately towards *Attica*.

But ſome Perſons eſcaping from *Elatea*, acquainted the *Athenians* with their Danger; they were in the utmoſt Conſternation at this News, and being in the greateſt Diſtreſs they turned their Eyes upon *Demoſthenes*; he ſaid, that as *Philip* might be in *Attica* within two Days, ſo there would be no Time for an Application to their Allies, and that they muſt ſend Ambaſſadors immediataly to *Thebes*, to perſuade the *Bœotians* to join them in the Defence of their Liberty, Country, and Perſons.

They approved of his Advice, but deſired him to execute it; ſo he immediately went to *Bœotia*, and having prevailed with the People

People to comply with his Propoſals, he returned to *Athens*.

The *Athenians*, now reinforced with a double Number of Troops, appointed *Chares* and *Lyſicles* their Generals, and the Army being ordered into *Bœotia*, it made a quick March to *Chæronea*. The *Bœotians* did not neglect any Preparation for the Engagement; and being ready, they joined the *Athenians* in their Camp with an Expectation of the Enemy.

Philip marched into *Bœotia* with an Army of thirty thouſand Foot and two thouſand Horſe, Troops of diſtinguiſhed Bravery and Diſcipline, and inferior to none in every military Accompliſhment.

At the Break of Day, the King gave the Command of one Wing to his Son *Alexander*, and took the other himſelf; the *Athenians* having alſo diſpoſed of their Army according to the different Nations that compoſed it, and having the Command of one Wing themſelves, and the *Bœotians* of the other, the Engagement began.

It continued for a long Time with great Slaughter, and the Victory remained dubious, till *Alexander*, fired with Ambition, and zealous to give a Specimen of his Courage and Reſolution, puſhed on with the choiceſt of his Troops, and breaking the Enemy's Line, he routed them; the ſame Succeſs having

alſo attended the King, Victory was determined in his Favour, for both the *Athenians* and *Bœotians* had each of them above one thouſand Men ſlain, and two thouſand taken Priſoners,

Philip intimidated the *Grecian* Cities ſo much by this important Battle, that having called an Aſſembly of the States at *Corinth*, he was appointed General of all *Greece*: But afterwards ingratiating himſelf with the *Greeks* by his Benevolence and Humanity; and withal, propoſing to them to make War upon the *Perſians* for their former Injuries, they ſupplied him with Auxiliaries, and entruſted him with full Power. So he began the *Perſian* War in the firſt Year of the 111th Olymp. and ſent *Attalus* and *Parmenio* with ſome Forces, as a Protection for the *Greek* Cities in *Aſia*; but this great King was ſhortly after murdered by *Pauſanias* in the 24th Year of his Reign, as he was going into the Theatre, to celebrate the Nuptials of his Daughter.

The *Athenians* were greatly encouraged by *Demoſthenes* at the Death of *Philip*, not to reſign the Dominion of *Greece* to the *Macedonians*.

The *Thebans* alſo drove out the Garriſon that *Philip* had left in their City, and declared that they would not ſubmit to *Alexander*. The *Arcadians*, the *Argives*, and *Lacedæmonians*,

monians were preparing to reſtore their former Government, and the neighbouring Nations to the *Macedonians* were contriving a Revolt.

Thus was *Alexander* ſurrounded with Danger; but though he was young at the Deceaſe of his Father, yet by his different Addreſs of Fear, Perſuaſion and Power, he extricated himſelf out of all theſe Difficulties; he prevailed upon the *Theſſalians* and their neighbouring Nations by Promiſes and Liberality to eſtabliſh him in the Sovereignty of *Greece:* and going to *Pylæ* he called a Council of the *Amphictyons*, and by their common Decree it was committed to him.

He ſent an Army into *Bœotia*, which alarmed the *Athenians* ſo much, that they ſent Ambaſſadors to *Alexander*; and calling a Council at *Corinth*, he was appointed Generaliſſimo of all the Forces that were going againſt *Perſia*.

But while he was in *Thrace*, ſeveral of the *Grecian* States again revolted, particularly the *Thebans*, ſo he marched againſt them with thirty thouſand Foot and three thouſand Horſe; and having in an Engagement, ſlain ſix thouſand *Thebans*, and taken three thouſand Priſoners, he raſed their City.

This Tranſaction greatly intimidated the other *Grecian* States, particularly the *Athenians*, who were ordered to deliver up ten Orators

to *Alexander*, as being the principal Cauſe of all their Diſſenſions; but the King was diverted from inſiſting on this Requeſt, by the Perſuaſion of *Demades*, and returned into *Macedonia*, in order to make Preparations for his important Expedition into *Perſia*; which by a Series of Conqueſts from the third Year of the 111th Olympiad, to the firſt Year of the 114th Olymp. he entirely ſubdued.

This great King had Ambaſſadors ſent to him from almoſt the whole World, either to congratulate him on his Conqueſts, or to carry Crowns of Triumph, or to offer him Preſents, or to confirm Alliances, or to deprecate Pardon; but after a Reign of twelve Years and ſeven Months, he died, (as it was ſuſpected) by Poiſon.

The Powers of *Greece* were greatly weakened at the Battle of *Chæronea* by *Philip*, ſtill farther reduced by *Alexander*, and at laſt effectually ſubdued by his Lieutenant *Antipator*, who hearing that *Agis* and the *Peloponneſian* Confederates (after the famous Battle of *Arbela*) had raiſed an Army of twenty thouſand Foot and two thouſand Horſe, in order to aſſiſt the *Perſians* againſt *Alexander*, leaſt this Prince ſhould entirely deprive *Greece* of her Liberty, when he reduced *Perſia*. So *Antipater* went with an Army of forty thouſand Men, and totally routed

routed them. The Failure in this Attempt entirely confirmed the Dominion of *Alexander* over theſe unfortunate People; and all their Struggles to recover their Liberty after the Death of this Prince were ineffectual.

The Government of *Athens* indeed experienced ſeveral Revolutions under *Antipater*, *Polyſperchon*, *Caſſander*, and their Succeſſors, and was ſometimes an Oligarchy and then a Democracy; but theſe various Changes aroſe from the different Views of thoſe Governors, and not any longer from the *Grecian* Power.

Thus did domeſtic Diſſenſions, which at firſt unhappily ſprung from the Jealouſy between *Sparta* and *Athens*, and were afterwards encreaſed by the *Perſian* Gold that was ſent to raiſe a Conſpiracy in *Thebes*, *Corinth*, and *Argos*, againſt *Sparta*, divide and weaken the formidable *Greeks* ſo much, that thoſe States whoſe Union was invincible by the collected and immenſe Powers of *Aſia*, at laſt fell under the Sword of *Philip* and *Alexander*, and continued under the Subjection of their Succeſſors, till they were effectually enſlaved by the *Romans*.

But let us paſs from *Greece* in Ruins, towards *Rome* riſing to the higheſt Pitch of Glory.

The Dominions of this famous City were very extenſive, and the Relation of her Con-

queſts and Heroes make up the moſt conſiderable and important Part of Hiſtory.

It may not then be improper to enquire into the Cauſes that conſpired to produce that Fortitude in the *Romans*, which rendered them ſo ſuperior to their Contemporaries, and what were the Means by which they obtained the Empire of the World.

Strabo aſſigned the Situation of *Italy* which is almoſt ſurrounded by the Sea, and abounds with Harbours, Rivers and Mountains, as a Reaſon why the *Romans*, when they had reduced the neighbouring States, became the Conquerors of Mankind; but this is not a ſufficient Cauſe for ſo great an Effect.

The *Romans* indeed might fit out powerful Navies to offend, or by the Nature of their Country be able to defend themſelves from any Invaſions of their Enemies, but their Valour and Bravery could not poſſibly be derived altogether from theſe Advantages.

Nor can the Happineſs of its Government be alledged as a Reaſon for their numerous Conqueſts; ſince its Laws underwent all the Revolutions, which *Lycurgus* (as we have before obſerved) foreſaw would happen to a State.

Its *Monarchy* under the firſt Kings, or when a *Dictator* was choſe, degenerated into a *Tyranny*, under the unjuſt and illegal Proceedings of *Tarquinius Superbus*, *Sylla*, *Tiberius*,

Tiberius, *Nero*, *Caligula*, and the following Emperors.

Its *Ariſtocracy*, under the Conſuls, and military Tribunes with conſular Power and *Decemvirs* for making of Laws, degenerated into an *Oligarchy* under the Empire of the Triumvirs.

Its *Democracy*, under the Tribunes of the People, became an *Ochlocratia*, when theſe Tribunes raiſed Parties againſt the Patricii, and ſuperior Magiſtrates, or produced Commotions, and Seditions in the State, as before the Election of the *Decemvirs*, and the Tribuneſhip of the *Gracchi*.

We muſt ſeek then for ſome other Soil, to diſcover the Growth of this ineſtimable Plant; and at laſt, after all Enquiries we ſhall find that it was moſt certainly derived from their Education.

The Love of Liberty and of their Country were the conſtant Leſſons which the *Romans* taught their Youth, who entirely practiſed and fought upon theſe Principles when Men, and were honoured for it when dead.

This was the Spring of *Roman* Virtue, and this gave Birth to *Roman* Fortitude, and by this it was that *Roman* Legions became invincible. Amongſt the reſt of the Incitements to Patriotiſm and Fortitude, which the *Romans* made uſe of; the funeral Honours which they payed to any Perſon who

had diſtinguiſhed himſelf, may be particularly conſidered.

The deceaſed was carried into the *Forum*, where his Son or neareſt Relation recited the noble Actions of his Life before the People, and when the Body was buried or burnt, its Image was repoſited in a Shrine, and placed in the beſt Apartment of their Houſe. Theſe Images were adorned on publick Occaſions, and carried to the Funerals of eminent Perſons of the ſame Family; who, if they had been Conſuls, Prætors or Cenſors, were accompanied with all the Badges and Enſigns of their Office.

This Inſtitution then muſt certainly have been attended with the moſt advantageous Effects, as the Spectators could not forbear being animated and enflamed with the moſt ardent Deſire of Virtue and Glory, when they beheld the Image of ſo many Patriots and Heroes, who had acquired the higheſt Honours in the State, and were thus diſtinguiſhed and immortalized by their own Merit.—But to proceed to their Hiſtory.

The *Romans* having unexpectedly recovered their City from the Invaſion of the *Gauls*, and augmented their Power, they made War upon the neighbouring Nations in *Italy*, and reduced the *Latins*, *Hetrurians*, *Samnites*, *Tarentines*, and all the other States (except the *Gauls*) to their Dominion.

They

They were then called to the Aſſiſtance of the *Mamertines* (a People of *Campania*, that had treacherouſly ſeized upon *Meſſene*, a City of *Sicily*) who being beſieged by the *Syracuſans* under *Hiero*, were reduced to ſuch Extremity, that ſome of them had delivered up the Citadel to the *Carthaginians*, when an oppoſite Party applied for Aſſiſtance to the *Romans*. The *Romans* were ſome time undetermined how to act, as they had lately puniſhed a Garriſon of their own, for a Violation of its Truſt towards the *Rhegians*; and they thought that ſending Succours to a People, who had been guilty of the ſame Treachery, would be a Proceeding altogether unworthy of *Roman* Virtue. But conſidering that the *Carthaginians* had very extenſive Territories in *Africa*, many Cities in *Spain*, and all the Iſlands in the *Sardinian* and *Tyrrhenian* Seas; and that if they ſhould obtain the Dominion of *Sicily* (which they might probably accompliſh if the *Mamertines* were not ſupported, as the Citadel of *Meſſene* was already delivered to them, and they were preparing to ſeize upon *Syracuſe*) they would by that Means ſurround *Italy*, and become very formidable Neighbours. So *Appius Claudius* the Conſul was ſent over with an Army to the Relief of the *Mamertines*, and had the City delivered to him.

The

The *Carthaginians* ſuſpecting that *Meſſene* was thus yielded to the *Romans*, by the Careleſneſs of their Garriſon in the Citadel, they beſieged the City by Sea, but were routed by the Conſul. In the following Year the new Conſuls went with four Legions, beſides Allies, into *Sicily*, to whom ſeveral Towns revolted on their Arrival.

Hiero, the King of *Syracuſe*, alſo perceiving the great Conſternation of the *Sicilians*, and withal that the *Roman* Power was ſuperior to the *Carthaginian*, ſent Ambaſſadors to the Conſuls with Propoſals of Peace; the *Romans* readily embraced this Offer, for as the *Carthaginians* had the Command of the Sea, they might probably intercept the Supplies that would be ſent to their Troops, and block them up in *Sicily*; ſo a Peace was concluded between them, upon Condition that the King reſtored all his Priſoners, and paid them an hundred Talents of Silver.

The *Carthaginians* being informed that *Hiero* was their Enemy, and withal of the continual Growth of the *Roman* Power, they ſent a large Body of *Ligurians*, *Gauls*, and *Spaniards*, to *Agrigentum*, for the Defence of their Poſſeſſions in *Sicily*.

Theſe Troops were ſo cloſely beſieged by the *Romans*, that *Hannibal*, who commanded them, was obliged to ſend for a Reinforcement

forcement from *Carthage*, which was ſent him under the Command of *Hanno*: But the beſieged were ſo diſtreſſed for Proviſion, that *Hannibal* was obliged to retreat with his Army from the City by Night, and it was ſiezed by the *Romans* in the following Day.

This Diſpute gave Birth to the firſt *Carthaginian* War, which began about 489 Years after the Building of *Rome*; for the Senate and People were ſo greatly elated at the Succeſs of their Troops, that they were reſolved to drive the *Carthaginians* entirely out of *Sicily*; but as theſe People were Maſters of the Sea, and had often terrified *Italy* with their Navy, while *Africa* remained ſecure, the *Romans* thought it neceſſary to prepare a Navy of an hundred Quinqueremes (or Gallies with Five Seats of Oars) and twenty Triremes (or Gallies with three Seats of Oars.) This indeed was a difficult Undertaking, as the *Italians* were entirely ignorant of the Uſe and Building of Quinqueremes at that Time, and had tranſported their Forces into *Sicily* by the Triremes, with which the *Tarentines*, *Locrians*, and *Neapolitans* had ſupplied them. But a *Carthaginian* Ship attacking theſe Triremes in their Paſſage from *Italy*, ran upon the Shore and was taken; ſo the *Romans* built a Fleet by the Model of this Veſſel, exerciſed their Men at the Oar upon Shore; and having

finiſhed all their Preparations, they launched their whole Navy into the Sea, and ſailed along the *Italian* Coaſt. *Boodes* the *Carthaginian* Admiral, took ſeventeen of theſe Veſſels; but the *Romans* having ſhortly after defeated fifty Ships under *Hannibal* they ſailed towards *Sicily*.

The *Carthaginians*, with a Fleet of 130 Ships, contemning the Inexperience of the *Romans* in naval Affairs, flattered themſelves greatly with the Hopes of Victory; but an Engagement enſuing, the *Carthaginians* were ſo diſconcerted with their Corvi (or a warlike Machine which the *Romans* had fixed to the Prow of every Veſſel, in order to grapple the Enemy's Ship and ſo board them, as their own Veſſels were very bad and heavy Sailors) that they were entirely routed with the Loſs of thirty Veſſels.

The *Romans* encouraged with this Succeſs made a Deſcent upon *Sicily*, raiſed the Siege of *Ægeſta*, and took *Macella*; but theſe Conqueſts were a little interrupted by *Amilcar*, who had cut off 4000 of their Allies, that had ſeparated themſelves from the Army, on a Diſpute of the Poſt of Honour in the Field.

In the following Year, *Regulus*, the *Roman* Conſul, with great Difficulty, took ten Ships, and deſtroyed eight more of the *Carthaginians*; but, in the Year after that, the *Romans* put

to

to Sea with 330 Ships of War, and ſailed towards *Ecnomus*, a Port in *Sicily*, with a Deſign of carrying the War into *Africa*.

The *Carthaginians* knowing that their Coaſts were open, and would be eaſily conquered, were determined to intercept and bring them to a Battle, ſo they ſailed to *Heraclea*, a Fort near *Ecnomus*, with 350 Ships.

The *Roman* Veſſels had each of them 300 Rowers, and 120 Soldiers, which made about 140,000 Men in the whole Fleet, and were under the Command of *M. Atilius Regulus* and *L. Manlius*. But the *Carthaginian* Fleet conſiſted of 150,000 all trained up to Sea, and were under the Command of *Hanno* and *Amilcar*. The whole Power of each Party was here ſummoned together, and the Engagement that was to enſue, would probably decide the Fate of theſe contending Countries.

The Commanders having diſpoſed their Fleets in order, the Battle began, when after a long, ſevere, and dubious Conteſt, the *Romans* having ſunk thirty, and taken ſixty-four of the *Carthaginian* Veſſels, with the Loſs of twenty-four of their own, they obtained a complete Victory.

The Fleet, being recruited with Proviſions, ſailed to the Coaſt of *Africa*, where having diſembarked their Troops, they laid

Siege

Siege to and reduced *Aſpis*. They then ſent Meſſengers to *Rome* for further Orders; when *Regulus* was commanded to ſtay in *Africa*, with 15000 Foot, 500 Horſe, and 40 Ships; and *Manlius* to return with the Reſt of the Fleet and Priſoners.

The *Carthaginians* choſe *Boſtar* and *Aſdrubal* for their Generals, and ordered *Amilcar* to return with the Remainder of his Fleet to *Carthage*, when, with 5000 Foot and a large Body of Cavalry; they were reſolved to oppoſe the Enemy, who were waſting the Country without Interruption.

Regulus having now laid Siege to *Adis*, the *Carthaginians* marched immediately to the Relief of this City; but imprudently encamping on a Hill, where their Elephants and Cavalry (which was their principal Strength) was uſeleſs, the *Romans* attacked them before they arrived at the open Plains, and entirely routed them.

Theſe Misfortunes, both by Sea and Land, were increaſed by the dreadful Hoſtilities, which the *Numidians* had committed upon the country People: And great Numbers of them flocking to the City, a Famine, aggravated with the Apprehenſions of a Siege, now threatened unhappy *Carthage*. But *Reguluſ*, being apprehenſive that a new Conſul might come from *Rome* and deprive him of the Honour of concluding the War, as the

City

City had not yet ſurrendered, invited the *Carthaginians* to a Treaty of Peace; this Propoſal was readily approved of, and Deputies were accordingly appointed by the Parties.

When *Regulus*, being acquainted with their miſerable Condition, and likewiſe eſteeming himſelf to be already their Conqueror, propoſed ſuch Terms as were rejected with great Indignation; and both the Senate and People, though reduced to the laſt Extremity, were determined to practiſe every Expedient, and ſuffer every Hardſhip, rather than diſgrace the Glory of their former Actions, by ſuch Abjection.

At this Time, one of the Officers who had been ſent to raiſe Mercenaries in *Greece*, arrived with a large Number of them, at *Carthage*. Amongſt theſe People was *Xanthippus*, a *Lacedæmonian*, who had been educated in the *Spartan* Diſcipline, and was well acquainted with the Art and Science of War. This Perſon being informed of the particular Circumſtances of the late Engagement, of the Nature of the *Carthaginian* Forces, and the Number of their Horſe and Elephants, he ſaid, that the *Carthaginian* Army had not been conquered by the *Romans*; but by the Inexperience and ill Conduct of their own Generals.

This

This Declaration ſhortly reached the Magiſtrates, and being brought before them, he explained the Cauſe of their late Misfortunes, and the Advantage that would ariſe from their encamping and engaging on open Plains in ſo clear a Manner, that the Generals themſelves applauded his Judgment, and gave up the Command of the Army to him. The People immediately began to revive their Hopes; but as ſoon as *Xanthippus* drew out the Troops and exerciſed them according to the Rules of War, his ſuperior Knowledge in military Diſcipline was ſo extremely apparent, that the Soldiers deſired to be led againſt the Enemy immediately; being perſuaded that no Misfortune could happen to them if *Xanthippus* was their General. They accordingly in a few Days marched out with an Army of 12000 Foot, 4000 Horſe, and about 100 Elephants.

The *Romans* were ſurpriſed to ſee them always encamp and march on the open Plains, but they made all the neceſſary Preparations for an Engagement. In the following Day *Xanthippus* having drawn up the *Carthaginians* in order, the Battle began, when, with about the Loſs of 800 Men, they took *Regulus* and 500 *Roman* Priſoners, and with their Cavalry and Elephants deſtroyed all the reſt except 2000 Men who had fled to *Aſpis*.

Thus

Thus uncertain are the Acts of Fortune, that *Regulus*, who ſo lately beheld the Diſtreſs of the *Carthaginians* without Remorſe, was now compelled to ſupplicate them for his Life; and thus did the Advice of one Man defeat Legions, that were thought invincible, and ſo preſerve a City which muſt have fallen, and reſtore an Army, whoſe numerous Misfortunes had almoſt rendered it inſenſible of Sorrow; but at the ſame Time likewiſe it ought to be recorded as a Monument of *Carthaginian* Ingratitude, that the infamous and deteſtable Paſſion of Envy, raiſed a Party amongſt the Officers, which either murdered or baniſhed the very Man that had ſaved their Country.

The *Romans* were not long unacquainted with the Fate of their Troops in *Africa*, ſo they ſent over a Fleet to bring away the few that had eſcaped to *Aſpis*.

The *Carthaginians* had layed Siege to this Place, with a Deſign of taking them Priſoners, but met with ſo vigorous a Reſiſtance that they were obliged to deſiſt; and, hearing that the *Romans* were preparing a Fleet to renew their Attack on *Africa*, they fitted out 200 Ships to obſerve their Motion. The *Romans*, in the Beginning of the Summer, put to Sea with 250 Ships under the Command of the Conſuls *M. Æmilius* and *S. Fulvius*; and ſailing towards *Africa*, they

met with the *Carthaginian* Fleet, which they totally routed upon the firſt Onſet, by taking one hundred and ſixty four Ships; they then ſailed to *Aſpis*, and took the Troops, that had ſaved themſelves by Flight, on Board; but in their Paſſage towards *Sicily*, they met with a Storm, which almoſt deſtroyed their whole Fleet, for of one hundred and ſixty four Veſſels, only eighty eſcaped its Fury.

The *Carthaginians* were encouraged to hope that this unfortunate Diſaſter, and the late Defeat in *Africa* would ſecure them a Superiority over the *Romans*, ſo they ſent *Aſdrubal* with two hundred Ships, and one hundred and forty Elephants into *Sicily*.

The *Romans* were greatly affected with their late Misfortunes, but their Ardour not at all abated in attempting to ſurmount them; for they built a Fleet of 220 Ships in three Months, which they ſent to Sea, under the Command of their new Conſuls; and, being joined by the Veſſels that had eſcaped the Storm, thewhole Fleet conſiſting of 300 Ships went and reduced *Panormus*, a conſiderable *Carthaginian* City, where having left a Garriſon, they returned to *Rome*.

In the following Year no Action of Importance was performed, but the Fleet, having been ſent again to *Africa*, was in its Return to *Rome*, again attacked by a moſt violent Storm, in which 150 Ships periſhed.

Theſe

Theſe repeated Loſſes induced the *Romans* to give up the Sea, and entirely to depend upon their Land Forces; ſo they ſent the Legions with ſixty Tranſports of Proviſion under the Conſuls to *Sicily*.

The *Carthaginians*, by theſe Loſſes of the Enemy, had the faireſt Proſpect of recovering their former Glory: they were now ſole Maſters of the Sea, and began to put great Confidence in their Land Forces; for the *Romans* were ſo intimidated at the Deſtruction which their Elephants had made in *Africa*, that they were afraid of venturing a Battle on a Plain for two Years.

The Apprehenſion of theſe Creatures had indeed terrified their Troops ſo much, that the Senate thought it proper to reſume their naval Preparations, and *C. Atilius*, and *L. Manlius* being elected Conſuls, they built fifty Ships.

Aſdrubal the *Carthaginian* General, perceiving the Terror that had prevailed in the *Roman* Army, and being informed that a Garriſon was left in *Panormus*, under the Command of *Cæcilius*, he ſailed from *Lilybæum*, and laid Siege to it.

Cæcilius now gave a moſt eminent Proof of his great Abilities as a General; for, by his excellent Skill and Conduct, the *Carthaginians* were entirely routed and their Elephants taken.

This News was received with great Expreſſions of Joy at *Rome*, as not only the Place itſelf was preſerved, but the Terror, which the Elephants had raiſed amongſt the Legions, now vaniſhed at this Conqueſt.

In the fourteenth Year of the War, the *Romans* were determined to exert all their Strength and Forces they could collect together; ſo they ſent their Legions with 200 Ships to lay Siege to *Lilybæum* (a Promontory in *Sicily*) as a Place that would be very convenient for the Tranſportation of their Troops into *Africa*.

The *Carthaginians* being ſenſible of the Importance of this City, and as it was, withal, the only Place they had left in *Sicily*, except *Drepanum*, were determined to defend it.

The *Romans* preſſed the Siege with great Vigour againſt the Garriſon, which conſiſted of 10,000 Men; and the City was as bravely defended by *Imilco*, who conſtantly repaired the Breaches, made continual Sallies upon the Beſiegers, and by his great Addreſs prevented a Revolt, which was riſing amongſt the Mercenaries.

The *Carthaginians* ſent fifty Ships, with ten thouſand Men to the Relief of the City, who, being ſafely diſembarked, *Imilco* ſallied out with the whole Garriſon upon the *Romans*, when, after a very obſtinate Engagement, he ordered a Retreat to be ſounded; but a Storm hap-

happening to ariſe, by which ſome of the *Roman* Towers were blown down, the *Greek* Mercenaries took this Opportunity, went out and ſet Fire to their Machines, and ſo all their Works were deſtroyed, and the Deſign of taking the Town by Force entirely defeated.

After this Accident the *Romans* ſurrounded the City with an Intrenchment, fortified their Camp, and waited the Event. The beſieged likewiſe repaired their broken Walls, and endured the Blockade with great Fortitude.

The News of this Misfortune arriving at *Rome*, ten thouſand Men were raiſed and ſent into *Sicily*; but *P. Claudius*, encouraged with this Reinforcement, adviſed the Tribunes to ſurprize *Adherbal*, who lay with a *Carthaginian* Fleet at *Drepanum*, with the whole Army. So they all embarked and put the Deſign in Execution; but the *Carthaginian* General encouraging his Men to engage the *Romans*, they went aboard their Fleet; and, by the great Skilfulneſs of their Commander, routed the *Romans*, and deſtroyed ninety three of their Ships.

This Loſs was entirely owing to the Miſconduct of the Conſul, whom they condemned to pay a very conſiderable Fine; but ſtill undaunted in their Reſolution, they ſent their new Conſul *L. Junius*, with ſixty Ships

laden with Stores for the Army before *Lilybæum*.

The Conſul arrived at *Meſſene*, and being joined by ſome more Ships, his Fleet conſiſted of 120 Ships of War, and 800 Tranſports; and having ſent half of them to the Camp, he ſtayed with the reſt at *Syracuſe*.

At this Time *Adherbal* ſent 100 Ships under the Command of *Carthalo*, to attack the *Roman* Fleet that was in the Harbour of *Lilybæum*, where, ſetting Fire to it, he threw the *Roman* Soldiers into great Confuſion, for, while they were endeavouring to preſerve the Ships, *Imilco* ſallied upon them from the Town.

The *Carthaginian* General being greatly elated with this Deſtruction of the Fleet at *Lilybæum*, ſailed immediately to attack the other that was left at *Syracuſe*; but the *Romans*, leaving their Ships, and encamping upon the Land, made ſo ſtout a Reſiſtance that he was obliged to retreat.

Thus the *Romans* defended their Fleet againſt the *Carthaginian* Forces, but they could not preſerve it from the unruly Elements of Nature; for ſhortly after it was once more attacked by a Storm, in which every Veſſel periſhed: This terrible Accident ſtruck both the People at *Rome*, and the Army before *Lilybæum* with the greateſt

Conſternation; but this Siege was continued ſo long as they were ſupplied with Stores.

In the eighteenth Year of the War, the *Carthaginians* choſe *Amilcar*, the Father of *Hannibal*, ſurnamed *Barcas*, for their General, and gave him the Command of the Fleet; ſo he ſailed to *Italy*; and, having laid waſte the Lands of the *Brutii* and *Locrians*, he ſteered to *Sicily*, and encamped in a very advantageous Situation between *Eryx* and *Panormus*, where he often engaged the *Romans* and greatly harraſſed them both by Sea and Land for three Years.

He then beſieged the *Romans* in *Eryx*, where both Parties engaged each other with the greateſt Bravery, and conſtantly continued theſe Conteſts for two Years longer.

The *Carthaginians* and *Romans* were each of them exhauſted, and reduced to the laſt Extremity by the long Continuance of the War; but the latter ſtill preſerved their Conſtancy, and, notwithſtanding they had given up the Sea for five Years, yet as they found that their Deſigns upon Land would probably be defeated, by the indefatigable Aſſaults and Skilfuneſs of the *Carthaginian* General, they decreed a third Time to place their Hopes in a naval Force, as thinking that the only Means of concluding the War advantageouſly was by cutting off all Succours from the Sea to the Army before *Eryx*.

This Armament was not fitted out by the public Treaſury which was quite exhauſted, but entirely by the Generoſity of the Citizens; for each particular Perſon, or two, or three together, according to their Circumſtances, completely equipped out a Quinquereme, on Condition of being repaid the Charges, if the Deſign ſhould be ſucceſsful; ſo they raiſed a Fleet of 200 Quinqueremes, which put to Sea in the Beginning of the Summer under the Command of *C. Lutatius* the Conſul; and ſailing to *Sicily*, which the *Carthaginian* Fleet had lately left, they took Poſſeſſion of the Ports of *Drepanum* and *Lilybæum*; and the Conſul expecting that it would return, he conſtantly exerciſed his Men, in order to make them expert and able Sailors.

The *Carthaginians* were greatly ſurpriſed to find that the *Romans* had a Fleet at Sea again; but being deſirous of ſupporting the Troops before *Eryx*, they ſent ſome Ships of Stores to them under the Command of *Hanno*. The Conſul being informed of the ſailing of this Fleet, was determined to intercept them; and thinking it beſt to take the Advantage of engaging them when laden and incumbered, he immediately put to Sea, met and encountered them, ſunk fifty of their Ships, and took ſeventy, with all their Men. The *Carthaginians*, notwithſtanding this Defeat, ſtill continued ſtrenuous in carrying

rying on the War; but being deprived of the Means of performing it as they desired, as they could no longer supply their Troops in *Sicily* with Succours, when the Sea was commanded by the *Romans*; and having neither an Officer nor Army at Home, that they could depend upon, they immediately sent to *Barcas*, and entrusted him with the sole Management of their Affairs. This excellent Soldier was very justly entitled to the Character of a great and prudent General; for while any Hopes of promoting the Welfare of his Country, remained, he never omitted an Action which Experience could justify, or Bravery execute; but when Fortune had turned the Day, and banished every Resource of Aid, he thought that a Submission to the Circumstances of the Times, would be most conducive to the publick good; so sent Ambassadors to the *Roman* Consul, with Proposals of an Accommodation, which were readily accepted, for *Lutatius* was no Stranger to the necessitous State of the *Roman* Revenues; so a Treaty was concluded on the following Terms.

" There shall be a Peace between the " *Carthaginians* and *Romans* (with the Ap- " probation of the *Roman* People) on these " Conditions: the *Carthaginians* shall re- " linquish all *Sicily*. They shall not carry

" on

" on a War againſt *Hiero*, nor invade the " *Syracuſans* or their Allies. They ſhall " reſtore all the Priſoners to the *Romans* " without any Ranſom, and ſhall pay them " the Sum of 2200 *Euboic* Talents in the " Space of Twenty Years."

Theſe Terms were mutually agreed upon by the Commiſſioners appointed to confirm the Peace, only with an Addition of one thouſand Talents to be paid with the former Sum. Thus was the War in *Sicily*, between the *Carthaginians* and *Romans*, concluded, after it had continued Twenty-four Years; in the Courſe of which the *Romans* had loſt, by Storms and Battles, 700 Quinqueremes, and the *Carthaginians* 500.

But Peace had not long ſettled in either of theſe States, before it was interrupted by a domeſtic Sedition, which was raiſed in *Italy* by the *Faliſci*; and in *Africa* by the *Carthaginian* Mercenaries that had been employed in the late War. The *Romans* indeed ſhortly quelled the firſt, but the whole *Carthaginian* Empire would undoubtedly have fallen by the laſt, if it had not been preſerved by the great Abilities and inimitable Conduct of *Amilcar*.

The *Carthaginian* Revenue had been ſo much exhauſted by the late War, that they were unable for the preſent to diſcharge the Wages of the Army; ſo the Mercenaries ſuſpecting

ſuſpecting that they ſhould loſe their Pay, a Mutiny and Revolt enſued; and the Soldiers being inflamed by the Artifice and Intrigues of *Spendius* and *Matho*, and ſome other notorious Incendiaries, an Army of 70,000 Men, compoſed of *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, *Ligurians*, *Greeks*, and *Africans*, were gathered together, committed the greateſt Depredations, practiſed the moſt enormous Cruelties, and even threatened the very State with Ruin.

But *Amilcar*, by his ſuperior Skill and Valour, having with a ſmall Army defeated them in ſeveral Engagements; in the firſt of which he killed 6000 Men, and took 2000 Priſoners, in the next 10,000 were deſtroyed, and 4000 taken Priſoners, and in the laſt (except the deciſive Skirmiſh with *Matho*) 40,000 of them were ſlain at a Place called the *Saw*; he put an End to this dangerous Rebellion, after it had continued three Years and four Months.

While the *Carthaginian* State had been thus embroiled with Diſſenſions, and weakened by theſe Conteſts at Home, the *Romans* were invited to ſail over into *Sardinia*, by ſome Mercenaries who had revolted, and were determined to embrace the Offer.

The *Carthaginians* highly reſented the Injuſtice of this Proceeding, for the Iſland belonged

longed to them, ſo they were preparing a Force to ſubdue theſe Rebels.

The *Romans*, upon a Pretence that theſe Preparations were not intended to be carried againſt the *Sardinians*, but to oppoſe them, took an Occaſion, from this Incident, to proclaim War againſt the *Carthaginians*; but theſe unfortunate People, being ſo much reduced by their late foreign and civil Wars, choſe rather to yield up *Sardinia* to the *Romans*, and likewiſe pay them 1200 Talents, which they demanded, rather than engage in a new one.

The *Carthaginian* Affairs being once more ſettled, they ſent *Amilcar* with an Army into *Spain*, where, either by Perſuaſion or Power, he ſubjected many Cities to the *Carthaginian* Government; but being ſlain after he had been there about nine Years, he was ſucceeded in his Command by *Aſdrubal*. This General conducted the Affairs in *Spain* with great Prudence and Wiſdom; and, amongſt the other Advancements he had made to the Dominion of his Country, he built a City in it, which he called *Carthage*.

But his Proceedings were not unobſerved by the *Romans*, who being alarmed at the Increaſe of Power in *Spain*, which he had made to the *Carthaginians*, would have ſent an Army againſt him, if they had not at this Time been apprehenſive of an Invaſion from the

the *Gauls*; ſo they ſent Ambaſſadors to *Aſdrubal*, and a Treaty was agreed upon between them, in which the *Carthaginians* were forbid to paſs the *Iberus* (or *Ebro*) but no mention was made of the reſt of *Spain*.

The *Romans* then turned their Arms againſt the *Gauls* (whoſe contiguous Situation not only endangered their Dominion in *Italy*, but even their City itſelf) and having by Accident incloſed their Army which conſiſted of 50,000 Foot and 20,000 Horſe and Chariots) between two Armies of their own, they killed 40,000 Men, and took 10,000 Priſoners; and, waſting *Gaul* itſelf with their Army, they reduced all the *Gallic* Nation to their Dominion, and put an End to the War.

Aſdrubal had now adminiſtered the *Carthaginian* Affairs for eight Years, and greatly enlarged its Empire; but being murdered in his Tent by a *Gaul*, who had reſented ſome private Injury, the Command of the Army was given to *Hannibal* the Son of *Amilcar*. This General was yet young, being carried by his Father, when he was nine Years old, into *Spain*; he had continued in the army ever ſince, and had given many Proofs of his great Abilities.

The Counſels of *Hannibal* ſoon diſcovered his Inclination to make War upon the *Romans*, who now began to be alarmed at the

Preparations

Preparations which they found the *Carthaginians* were making to revenge their late Oppreſſions. They were not miſtaken in their Conjecture, for in about Twenty-three Years after the firſt Punick War was concluded and in the 535 Year after the Building of *Rome*, the ſecond *Carthaginian* War broke out. It was ſuppoſed to be derived principally from the following Cauſes, *viz.*

The Indignation which *Amilcar* had conceived towards the *Romans*, being ſo inveterate, that while he was once offering a Sacrifice to *Jupiter*, he led his Son *Hannibal*, then nine Years old, to the Altar, and commanded him to touch the Victim, and to ſwear that he would never be a Friend to the *Romans*:

The Declaration of War which the *Romans* had proclaimed againſt the *Carthaginians*, immediately after the dangerous Rebellion of their Mercenaries was appeaſed, and by which they were compelled to give up *Sardinia*, and pay them a Tribute of 1200 Talents:

And laſtly, the Acquiſition of Power which *Amilcar* had obtained in *Spain*, and which he deſigned as a Reſource for the *Carthaginians* againſt the *Romans*.

Hannibal was no ſooner inveſted with his Authority, than he ſecured the Affection of his Troops by their preſent Pay and future Promiſes.

Promiſes. He then laid Siege to, and reduced *Althæa*; and, in the following Summer, took ſeveral Cities; and by his great military Skill having defeated an Army of the *Carpeſians*, (a People who inhabited the Country now poſſeſſed by the *New Caſtilians*) conſiſting of 100,000 Men, there were no People on this Side the *Iberus* that were able to oppoſe him but the *Saguntines*. He then collected his Forces at *New Carthage*, and marched from thence towards *Saguntum*; and as he foreſaw the great Importance that the Conqueſt of this City would be to his future Deſigns, that it would cut off all the Hopes which the *Romans* might entertain of carrying the War into *Spain* (as it was the only City in alliance with them); that it would ſtrike a Terror into the adjacent Country, make the conquered more obſequious, and the reſt ſubmiſſive; that its great Riches would enable him to encourage his Troops with Rewards, and ſecure the Favour of the *Carthaginians* at Home by valuable preſents; and withal, which was of the greateſt Conſequence, that he might, after this Victory, proceed in his March with Safety, as he would leave no Enemy behind him; ſo he preſſed the Siege with great Vigour, animated his Men by his own Example, for he never avoided any Trouble, Labour, or Danger, that was proper to be to

ſurmounted

ſurmounted; and ſo reduced the City after a Siege of eight Months.

He found here a great Quantity of Money, Captives, and Goods, the firſt of which he reſerved for defraying the Expences of the War againſt the *Romans*; the Captives he divided amongſt his Troops according to their Merit, and then ſent all the Booty to *Carthage*; and thus was the Soldier encouraged to encounter the Dangers of War with greater Reſolution, and the State be more conformable to ſupply all future Demands.

The *Romans*, upon receiving an Account of all theſe Tranſactions, immediately ſent an Embaſſy to *Carthage* to demand the Delivery of *Hannibal*, and all his principal Officers; and, with a Declaration likewiſe, that War ſhould be proclaimed between *Rome* and *Carthage* again, unleſs this Requeſt ſhould be complied with.

The Ambaſſadors arriving at *Carthage*, a Council was called; when they declared their Meſſage, the *Carthaginians* were much diſpleaſed with theſe Propoſals, but appointed a proper Perſon to juſtify their late Proceedings. The Ambaſſadors made no Anſwer to this Defence, but the eldeſt of them, ſhewing his Breaſt to the Council, ſaid, we here carry Peace and War, and will give you which you chooſe.

The

The *Carthaginian* King then commanded them to deliver which they pleaſed. The *Romans* anſwered, *It ſhould be War.* The whole Aſſembly unanimouſly replied, *that they readily accepted it.*

Hannibal, having wintered in *New Carthage*, had ſent the *Spaniards* to their reſpective Homes, being deſirous of keeping them in his Intereſt, leſt he ſhould want their Aſſiſtance in any future Expeditions; he gave Directions to his Brother *Aſdrubal*, concerning the Government of *Spain*, and how he might defend himſelf againſt any Aſſaults from the *Romans*. He then conſulted the Security of *Africa*, and, in order to ſettle a mutual Bond of Fidelity between that Country and *Spain*, he ſent over 13850 *Spaniſh* Foot and 1200 Horſe, with a Party of *Baleares* or Slingers, into *Africa*, and ordered an Army of Cavalry and Infantry; the former conſiſting of 450 *Africans*, 300 *Lorgitæ*, 1800 *Numidians*, *Maſſylians*, and *Mauritanians*, with 21 Elephants; and the latter of 11850 *Africans*, 300 *Ligurians*, and 500 *Baleares*, which, with 50 Quinqueremes, two Quadriremes, and five Triremes, were under the Command of *Aſdrubal*.

Hannibal, having provided for the Security both of *Africa* and *Spain*, now waited for the Return of ſome Meſſengers he had ſent amongſt the *Gauls*, in order to examine

very diligently into the Nature of the Country beyond the *Alpes*, and about the *Po*; into the Number of its People, and their Courage in War; and withal, as of the greateſt Conſequence in executing his Plan of Operations with Succeſs, they were ordered very carefully to enquire into the Diſpoſition of the *Inſubrians*, the *Boians*, and all the other *Gallic* Nations, towards the *Romans* ſince the laſt War, in which they had been conquered by them; for he chiefly depended upon the Aſſiſtance of theſe People to carry on the War againſt the *Romans*, after he had ſurmounted the Difficulties he expected to meet with in his croſſing the *Alpes*.

The Meſſengers arrived and acquainted him with the favourable Diſpoſition of the *Gauls* towards the *Carthaginians*; and withal that the Paſſage over the *Alpes*, would be attended with great Obſtructions; yet that they were not inſuparable.

Upon this Information *Hannibal* drew out his Forces from their Winter Quarters in the Spring; and being greatly pleaſed with the late Proceedings of the Council at *Carthage*, he publickly encouraged his Army to go againſt the *Romans*, gave them an Account of the Embaſſy from *Rome*, and that the Delivery of himſelf, and all his Officers to the *Romans*, was demanded by theſe Ambaſſadors:

baſſadors: He then deſcribed the Richneſs and Fertility of the Country through which they were to march, and likewiſe acquainted them with the Inclinations of all the *Gauls* beyond the *Alpes*, and his Alliance with them. The Soldiers all replied, that they were ready to go with him wherever he went; he commended their Alacrity to follow him, and having appointed a Day for their Departure, he diſmiſſed the Aſſembly.

Hannibal having ſettled all his Affairs in *Spain* and *Africa*, taken every Meaſure that was proper to inſure Succeſs to his great Deſigns, and provided every Preparation that was required to execute them, he ſet out upon this important Expedition againſt the *Romans*, at the Head of 90,000 Foot, and 12,000 Horſe, and marched directly towards the *Iberus*.

This River is about 325 Miles diſtant from *New Carthage*, which *Hannibal* having paſt with his Army, he made War upon, and reduced all the Nations, between it and the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, but not without ſeveral ſharp Engagements, and the Loſs of many Men.

He left 10,000 Foot and 1000 Horſe, and the Command of the conquered People under *Hanno*. He ſent an equal Number of Forces to their reſpective Habitations, as an Encouragement to the *Spaniards*, to aſſiſt

him, if he ſhould be compelled to raiſe any new Supplies.

The Army now conſiſted of 5000 Foot and 9000 Horſe, all veteran Troops, and marched by the *Pyrenæan* Mountains towards the *Rhone*.

The *Romans* being informed of the late Proceedings at *Carthage*, and withal that *Hannibal* had paſſed the *Iberus*, they endeavoured to complete all the Colonies which had been ſent to *Ciſalpine Gaul*, encloſed the Towns with Walls, and ordered the People that were to inhabit them (being 6000 in each City) to be at their reſpective Colonies within thirty Days. They then decreed, that *P. Corn. Scipio* ſhould be ſent with ſome Forces into *Spain*, and *Tib. Sempronius* with another Army into *Africa*.

In the Beginning of the Spring all the neceſſary Preparations being ready, the former ſailed to *Spain* with ſixty Ships, and the other to *Africa* with 160 Quinqueremes.

Scipio arrived off *Marſeilles* in five Days, and having anchored at the Mouth of the *Rhone* he landed his Men; he heard that *Hannibal* had paſſed the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, but imagined that he muſt ſtill be at a great Diſtance from that River, as he was to paſs through a difficult Country, and in the Midſt of ſeveral Nations of *Gaul*; but

Hannibal

Hannibal having bribed ſome of theſe Nations and reduced the reſt, had already arrived at the Banks of the *Rhone* (being about 400 Miles from the *Iberus*.) *Scipio*, being informed of his Approach, was much ſurpriſed at the Quickneſs of his March, and ſent out 300 of his beſt Horſe to be aſcertained of the Truth of it.

Hannibal having encamped upon the River about four Days Journey from the Sea, in a Place where it was narrow, was now preparing to ſend over his Troops; ſo he bought a great Number of Boats of the People who lived near the River, and being ſupplied with Wood, his own People had made a great Number of Canoes in two Days.

In the mean Time a Multitude of Barbarians had gathered together, on the oppoſite Side of the River in order to oppoſe his Paſſage: *Hannibal* thinking that it would be impoſſible to land his Troops againſt ſo great a Force, and withal ſuſpecting, that if he remained long in his preſent Situation, he might probably be ſurrounded by his Enemies; on the Third Night he ſent a Detachment under *Hanno* the Son of *Bomilcar*, with ſome *Gallic* Guides up the River; who having marched about twenty-five Miles, they came to a ſmall Iſland which divided the Stream into two Parts, where, having cut down ſome Trees, they

croſſed the River without any Interruption; and, having taken Poſſeſſion of a fortified Poſt, they ſpent a Day in refreſhing, and preparing themſelves for the Engagement.

The Troops that were left with *Hannibal* had completed their Preparations; he ordered the heavy-armed Horſe to put into the Boats, and the Infantry into the Canoes, that the Boats ſhould be placed towards the Stream to break the Force of the Current, and that the Canoes, being along Side of them, might paſs more ſafely; the reſt of the Horſes were to ſwim acroſs; and three or four of them being guided by a Perſon at the Stern of the Boats, a great Number of both Infantry and Cavalry would be tranſported at once.

On the fifth Night the Troops which had paſſed the River came down towards the Barbarians, who intended to oppoſe the Paſſage.

Hannibal expecting that they might arrive at the proper Place about this Time, was preparing to put his Troops on Board. The Barbarians, perceiving his Intention, came out from their Camp without any Order, ſuppoſing that they could eaſily prevent the Troops from landing.

But *Hannibal*, as ſoon as he diſcovered the Smoke, which was the Signal appointed to be given by the Detachment on their Ar-

val, he ordered his Troops to paſs the River immediately. The Soldiers encouraged each other with great Spirit to break the Force of the Stream; while the Armies ſtanding on each Side the River, the one animating their Companions with Shouts, and the other denouncing an Engagement with Screams and Howling, afforded a terrible Proſpect.

The *Gauls* having left their Camp, ſome of the *Carthaginians* under *Hanno* ſuddenly came up and ſet Fire to it, whilſt the reſt attacked them in the Rear: The Barbarians were greatly aſtoniſhed at this Event, and Confuſion immediately enſued amongſt them. *Hannibal*, perceiving that the Deſign had ſucceeded, drew up his Forces as faſt as they landed; and immediately leading them to the Charge, the *Gauls* were ſhortly routed; ſo the victorious General ordered the reſt of his Troops to be immediately tranſported over the River, and he encamped upon the other Side of the *Rhone* the ſame Night.

In the following Day, *Hannibal* hearing that the *Roman* Fleet lay at the Mouth of the *Rhone*, ſent a Body of 500 *Numidian* Horſe to reconnoitre them; he alſo gave Orders for the Paſſage of the Elephants; and, in the mean Time, having aſſembled the Troops, he introduced a Viceroy of the Country about the River *Po* in *Italy*, who,

by an Interpreter, informed them of the friendly Diſpoſition of the *Gauls* in thoſe Parts towards the *Carthaginians*.

This Declaration was of the laſt Importance to encourage his Army; for the very Sight of the *Gauls* thus inviting them, and promiſing to be their Allies againſt the *Romans*, and withal their Aſſurance of being conducted by theſe People through all difficult Places into the rich and fertile Plains of *Italy*, highly animated his Troops.

The *Gauls* retired, and *Hannibal* reminded the Soldiers of their former Actions of the Dangers and Difficulties they had engaged and conquered under him; he exhorted them to keep up their Courage, ſince they had now ſurmounted the greateſt of all in paſſing the *Rhone*, and withal had been Eye-witneſſes of the friendly Diſpoſition of the *Gauls*; he laſtly deſired them not to be anxious concerning the Event of his Deſigns, but to confide entirely upon him, to execute his Orders with Bravery and Reſolution, and ſo preſerve the Glory they had already acquired. The Soldiers expreſſed their Approbation and Ardour with Shouts, which *Hannibal* applauding, he prayed to the Gods for their Preſervation, and commanding them to prepare for marching the next Day, he diſmiſſed them.

At this Time the *Numidians*, that had been ſent to obſerve the Motions and Number of the

the Enemy, returned; the greater Part of them being cut off, the reſt ſaved themſelves by Flight; for being met by a Party of *Roman* Horſe, who were ſent by *Scipio*, on the ſame Account, an Engagement enſued, in which 140 *Gauls*, and 200 *Numidians* were ſlain.

The *Romans* purſued them to the Camp, where, having made their Obſervation, they returned to *Scipio* with the Account. *Scipio* immediately marched with his whole Army in order to bring the Enemy to a Battle.

But *Hannibal* having called a Council of War, it was determined that the Horſe ſhould be ſtationed as a Reſerve towards the Sea, that the Foot ſhould decamp and march, while he waited for the Elephants, and Men that were left with them himſelf.

Hannibal having put his Army into Motion, he poſted his Elephants and Cavalry in the Rear, and marched from the Sea towards the Eaſt, as if he intended to go into the middle Parts of *Europe*.

Scipio arrived at the Place where the *Carthaginians* had paſſed the River about three Days after they had left it, and was extremely ſuprized to find that they were gone, for he had perſuaded himſelf, that they would by no Means venture to march into *Italy*, over ſuch difficult Mountains, and in the midſt of ſo many barbarous Nations; but being now aſſured that they had attempted the Paſſage, he returned

turned to his Ships, ordered his Troops on Board, and having ſent his Brother into *Spain*, he ſailed to *Italy*, with a Deſign of marching through *Etruria* (or *Tuſcany*) to the *Alpes*, to ſtop their Entrance into *Italy*.

Hannibal arrived in four Days from the *Rhone*, at a Place called the Iſland, which was ſituated in a fruitful Country; two Brothers were here at War about a Kingdom, ſo he joined the eldeſt, and aſſiſted him in defeating the other. The Conqueror very amply rewarded him, by furniſhing the Army, with Proviſions, Arms, Shoes, and Cloathing, and withal (which was of the greateſt Conſequence) in attending them through the Country of the *Allobroges*, and defending them from all Attacks and Inſults, till they arrived at the Foot of the *Alpes*.

Hannibal, after a March of ten Days, and about an hundred Miles Diſtance from the *Rhone*, prepared to aſcend theſe Mountains, but was threatened with the greateſt Dangers at his firſt Attempt; for the Chiefs of the *Allobroges* had drawn their Forces together, and taken Poſſeſſion of the Defiles through which he was to paſs; and if this Deſign had been executed with Secreſy, it would have entirely deſtroyed the whole Army. But *Hannibal* perceiving that the *Barbarians* had ſeized theſe advantageous Poſts, he ſtopped at the Bottom of the *Alpes*, and ſent ſome *Gauls*,

Gauls, who were his Guides, to diſcover the Situation and Motions of the Mountaineers; the *Gauls* returned and acquainted him, that they regularly kept Guard in the Day, but retired to a neighbouring Town at Night; ſo he adapted his Meaſures to this Intelligence, marched as far as the Entrance of theſe Paſſages, and encamped near the Enemy. At the Approach of Night he ordered the uſual Fires to be lighted, and the Army to reſt; he then choſe out a ſelect Number of his beſt Troops, and went in the Night to ſeize the Poſts which the *Barbarians*, according to Cuſtom, had left. At the Appearance of Day, the *Barbarians* perceiving what had happened, they gave up their firſt Deſign; but afterwards, obſerving that the Beaſts and Horſes of Burden and Cavalry were incommoded, by the Badneſs of the Roads, and the Narrowneſs of the Paſſages, they fell upon them, and deſtroyed great Numbers.

Hannibal, conſidering that the Loſs of the Baggage would be fatal to the Army, engaged the Enemy and routed them, but not without the Loſs of many Men; he then aſſembling his Troops, went to the Town from whence the *Barbarians* had attacked him, where he found very conſiderable and valuable Spoils, as Horſes, Beaſts of Burden, great Quantities of Corn and Cattle, and withal ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the neighbouring *Gauls*,

Gauls, that they were effectually prevented from attempting to moleſt him any more.

He reſted a Day in this City, and then continuing his March, he met with no extraordinary Event, till the fourth Day, when ſome of the Inhabitants of theſe Mountains came to meet him with green Branches and Crowns s Signals of Peace.

Hannibal enquired into their Deſigns; they ſaid, that being informed of his taking a neighbouring Town, and deſtroying the People who attacked him, they were, on that Account, come to aſſure him, that they would do him no Injury, and would give him Pledges of their Fidelity.

Hannibal was very doubtful of their Sincerity; but conſidering, that an Acceptance of their Propoſal might make them gentle, when they might act againſt him openly, if he rejected them, he complied with their Petition, and treated them apparently as Friends. They immediately brought him Hoſtages, ſupplied his Army with Cattle, and became ſo familiar with his People, that he entruſted them with the leading of the Army through the other Paſſes; but theſe People, having conducted the *Carthaginians* for two Days, till they arrived at a Valley ſurrounded with Rocks, the *Barbarians* ſhortly drew towards the Rear in great Numbers, fell upon the Troops, and would have deſtroyed the whole

whole Army, if *Hannibal*, who had ſtill retained ſome Suſpicion of their treacherous Deſigns, had not prudently placed the Baggage and Cavalry before, and the Strength of the Foot in the Rear, who ſtanding their Ground, ſuſtained the whole Force of the Enemy, and ſo preſerved both Men, Horſes, and Baggage.

The Army now paſſed the Defiles, and on the ninth Day arrived at the Top of the *Alpes*, where they reſted two Days in Order to be refreſhed.

There was now great Quantities of *Snow* upon theſe Mountains, as the Winter was approaching; and *Hannibal*, being apprehenſive the Troops would be dejected both at the imminent Dangers they had eſcaped, and the Difficulties which they muſt ſtill ſurmount, he aſſembled them together, and took an Occaſion, from the View of *Italy*, (which is to be ſeen from the Summit of the *Alpes*) to raiſe their drooping Spirits; he ſhewed them the Plains that were watered by the *Po*, reminded them of the Friendſhip of the *Gauls*, and pointed out the Place where *Rome* itſelf ſtood.

The Army decamped the next Day, and began to deſcend the Mountains; they had now indeed no Enemy to encounter, but the Roads were very ſteep and narrow, and ſo covered with Snow, that they could not be

ſeen:

ſeen; the Men and Horſes often tumbled down Precipices and periſhed. However theſe Difficulties were ſuſtained with great Reſolution, till at laſt they came to a Place, where neither the Elephants, nor baggage Horſes could paſs, the Ground being extremely ſteep and broken for above 300 Yards.

Hannibal endeavoured to avoid it, but in vain; the Soldiers were obliged to remove the Snow, and level a Paſſage along the Precipice; which, being finiſhed with great Labour, the Horſes and Beaſts of Burden went down; and, arriving at the Plain, they were put to paſture.

He then ordered the *Numidians* to enlarge the Road for the Elephants, which, being effected in three Days, with the utmoſt Difficulty theſe Creatures came down almoſt exhauſted with Famine; for the Tops of the *Alpes*, being perpetually covered with Snow, both Summer and Winter, are perfectly naked, and without a Tree or Shrub upon them.

Hannibal, with all his Army, now arrived at the Plains on the third Day from the broken Ground, having loſt great Numbers of Men, Horſes and Beaſts of Burden, either by paſſing of Rivers, by Engagements, and by their difficult March over the *Alpes*, which was about 150 Miles over, and had taken up fifteen Days; he now entered the *Inſubrian* Territories,

Territories, and the Plains of *Po*, after five Months Paſſage from *New Carthage*, being 1050 Miles.

The *Carthaginian* Forces, which arrived ſafe in *Italy* were (as it appears from an Account engraven on a Pillar near *Lacinium*) 12,000 *African*, and 8000 *Spaniſh* Foot, and 6000 Horſe.

In the mean Time, *Scipio* having left the Legions under his Brother *Gnæus*, to proſecute the War againſt *Aſdrubal* in *Spain*, landed with a ſmall Force at *Piſæ*; and, marching through *Tuſcany*, he took the Command of the Army which had been ſent againſt the *Boian Gauls*, and encamped near the *Po*, with a Deſign of engaging the *Carthaginians* as ſoon as poſſible.

Hannibal, having thus entered *Italy*, encamped at the Foot of the *Alpes*, to refreſh his Troops, who were now in a very miſerable Condition, being ſo terribly harraſſed by the Aſcent and Deſcent of the *Alpes*, their Want of Proviſion, and the Diſeaſes they had contracted by their Hardſhips, that many of them would have voluntarily given up all Hopes of Life and Safety, and that Army which conſiſted of 38,000 Foot and 8000 Horſe at the Paſſage of the *Rhone*, were now almoſt reduced to half that Number, and theſe ſo altered by their Sufferings, as ſcarely to retain the Form of human Creatures.

Hannibal

Hannibal now entirely employed himſelf in encouraging and reſtoring his Men, and refreſhing his Horſes: he then invited the *Taurinians* (a People who lived at the Bottom of the *Alpes)* to an Alliance; but being rejected, he beſieged, and took their City in three Days, and ſlew all the Perſons that were found with Arms. This Proceeding terrified the neighbouring *Barbarians* ſo much, that they immediately ſubmitted.

The *Gauls*, who inhabited the Plains, became impatient to join *Hannibal*, but were reſtrained from it, by the Arrival of ſome *Roman* Legions; ſo *Hannibal*, thinking that no Time was now to be loſt, ordered his Army to march, that he might ſecure the Confidence of his intended Allies, by ſome important Action.

In the mean Time, he heard that *Scipio* had paſſed the *Po* with his Army, and was at no great Diſtance from him. *Hannibal* was greatly ſurprized at this Advice, and could ſcarcely believe it, as he had left him but a few Days before upon the *Rhone*, and as the Paſſage from thence to *Italy* by Sea, and the March to the *Po* by Land, were very long and difficult.

Scipio had likewiſe perſuaded himſelf, that *Hannibal* would never venture to come over the *Alpes*, not only on Account of the immenſe Hardſhips he muſt meet with, but as his

his Army was alſo compoſed of different Nations, and did not doubt but ſuch an Attempt would be attended with Deſtruction.

But when he heard that *Hannibal* was ſafely arrived in *Italy*, and had already laid Siege to ſome Towns, he was aſtoniſhed beyond Meaſure, at the Fortitude and Intrepidity of the *Carthaginian*.

This Account did not produce a leſs Degree of Admiration at *Rome*; for while the Report of *Saguntum* being taken, was ſtill freſh in their Minds, and the Conſuls ſo lately ſent to beſiege *Carthage*, and to oppoſe *Hannibal* in *Spain*, they were ſuddenly aſſured, that he had arrived with a powerful Army in *Italy*.

The *Romans* were amazed at this unexpected Event; and, being greatly alarmed at the Proſpect of War now brought into their own Country, they ſent Orders to the Conſul *Tiberius*, who then lay with his Fleet at *Lilybæum*, to return to *Rome*, and to order all the legionary Forces to be drawn together to *Ariminum*.

At this Time *Hannibal* and *Scipio* were mutually approaching each other, ſo both of them took every Occaſion that offered of animating their Troops.

The *Carthaginian* General made uſe of the following remarkable Expedient on this Occaſion. He aſſembled the Soldiers, and

ordered the Priſoners who had moleſted his Army in their Paſſage through the Defiles of the *Alpes*, and withal ſome *Gallic* Armour, Horſes, and very rich military Habits, to be brought before them; he then aſked the young Men, which of them would engage one of their Companions, upon Condition that theſe Spoils be given to the Conqueror, while the vanquiſhed at the ſame Time will be releaſed from his preſent Miſeries.

They all unanimouſly deſired to be the Combatants, their Lots were ordered to be thrown, and that thoſe two upon whom they fell, ſhould be armed and begin the Duel.

The Priſoners immediately lifted up their Hands to Heaven, and each individual fervently intreated the Gods that the Lot might fall upon him; for they had been loaded with Chains, bruiſed with Blows, emaciated with Hunger, and treated with the greateſt Severity, in Order to be prepared for this Purpoſe.

So the Chances were thrown, and the allotted Perſons begun the Duel, which being ended by the Death of one of them, the other Companions declared, that their dead Companion was more happy than his Conqueror, as the one was releaſed from thoſe Miſeries which the other muſt ſtill endure.

The ſame Reflections alſo ſtruck the *Carthaginians*, upon ſeeing the ſurviving Captives led back to their former Sufferings, and they pronounced the lifeleſs Perſon to be moſt happy.

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Hannibal having affected the Troops with this Example, came into the Midſt of them, and ſaid, he had produced theſe Captives upon their Account, that by clearly obſerving their own Condition in the Fate of others, they might the better determine how to act in their preſent Circumſtances; he ſaid that Fortune had now reduced them to the ſame Neceſſity of fighting, and withal had offered them the ſame Rewards, for that now they muſt either conquer or die, or be taken Priſoners by the Enemy; that by Conqueſt they would be rewarded, not with Horſes or Habits only, but with all the Wealth of the *Romans*, which would make them the happieſt People in the World; by Death they would be delivered from all Miſery, and conclude their Lives in Purſuit of the greateſt Glory that Mortals can attain; but if they were conquered, that then every Kind of Miſery and Diſtreſs would afflict them; for none of them could ever be ſo weak, as to think of returning into their own Country, and ſave themſelves by Flight, when they only conſidered the Length of the Journey which they had come, the many Battles they had been obliged to fight in their Way, and the large and rapid Rivers they had paſſed.

You muſt therefore baniſh every Hope of that Kind, and entertain the ſame Sentiments

of your own Condition, as you juſt now did of the Priſoners, and as you pronounced the Conqueror, and the Slain to be happy, and their ſurviving Companions miſerable; you muſt then engage the Enemy with a Reſolution to conquer or die.

It is not withal in the leaſt to be doubted, but that theſe Sentiments will enſure you Victory; for no Troops that were thus determined, ever failed of Conqueſt. You muſt alſo conſider, that the Enemy whoſe only Security is placed in Flight, and have a Country open to receive them on every Side, can never reſiſt the furious Aſſault of an Army who are entirely deprived of every ſuch Expection.

The Soldiers were highly animated with this Oration, upon the Example of the Captives they had ſeen: and ſo it fully anſwered the Deſign of the General in thus awakening all their Bravery; and having applauded their Behaviour, and given them Orders to march by Break of Day, he diſmiſſed them.

At this Time *Scipio* had advanced beyond the *Po*, and propoſing to paſs the *Ticinus*, he ſent ſome Men to throw a Bridge over it, and aſſembling his Forces, he thus harangued them.

" You muſt conſider the Dignity of your Country, and the glorious Actions of your Anceſtors;

ceſtors; and though you never entered the Liſts in Battle with any of your preſent Adverſaries, yet you may be aſſured of Victory, when you remember that they are *Carthaginians*.

It is indeed to be looked upon as Inſolence in theſe People to contend with *Romans*, when they have ſo often been conquered, and ſo long been Tributaries, and almoſt Slaves to us.

But, when Experience hath ſhewn you, that a Party of their Horſe were not only defeated with great Slaughter upon the *Rhone*, and that this very Army were lately afraid to ſtand before us, what Succeſs may we not reaſonably expect will be the Event?

Their General and all his Army were ſo alarmed at the Approach of *Roman* Legions, that they retreated with great Precipitation, and more through Fear than Choice have paſſed the *Alpes*.

Hannibal indeed is here, but the greateſt Part of his Army is deſtroyed, and the few that are left are ſo exhauſted by Fatigues, as to be entirely diſabled for the Services of War; our very Appearance then will be almoſt ſufficient to obtain the Victory.

You ſhould likewiſe be confirmed in your Hopes by my Preſence, for I ſhould never have left the Fleet which was ſent to *Spain* under my Command, and ſo ardently have deſired to join you, if I had not known that

this Proceeding was abſolutely neceſſary for the Good of my Country, and that Victory would moſt certainly attend it."

The Troops were greatly encouraged both by the Authority of the Speaker, and the Truth of what he ſaid; and very eagerly requeſted to be led againſt the Enemy.

Scipio commended their Alacrity; and deſiring them to be ready to receive his Orders, he diſmiſſed them.

The Armies marched along the River the following Days, but upon the third Day both the Generals went out upon the Plain to view each others Situation; and as ſoon as the Duſt of each Party was ſeen, they both ranged their reſpective Troops in proper Order.

Scipio placed his light armed Troops and *Gallic* Horſe in the firſt Line, and marched ſlowly.

Hannibal advanced with his bridled Horſes and heavy Cavalry in the Front, and the *Numidian* Horſe in the Wings, that they might be ready to ſurround the *Romans*.

The Action began, and the Cavalry with equal Bravery on each Side left their Horſes, and fought on Foot, till the *Numidians*, taking a Circuit round, came upon the Rear of the *Romans*, trampled down their light armed Forces, attacked the Troop that were engaged with the *Carthaginians* from behind, and entirely routedthem.

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The Conſul, after this Misfortune, collected a few of his diſordered Troops, and marched with them over the Plains towards the *Po*, which he paſſed: for as it was an open Country, and the *Carthaginians* ſuperior in their Cavalry, and himſelf alſo dangerouſly wounded, he thought it the moſt prudent to encamp his Legions in a ſafe Place.

Hannibal, for ſome Time, expected that the *Roman* Infantry would again attack him; but being informed that they had decamped, he purſued them to the *Po*; where the Bridge by which they had paſſed this River being broken down, he was obliged to march by the Side of it for two Days before he came to a Place that was proper for a Bridge of Boats to be flung over.

He now paſſed the *Po*, and having left the Care of tranſporting the Army to *Aſdrubal*, he gave Audience to the *Gallic* Ambaſſadors.

For as ſoon as *Hannibal* had got this Victory the *Gauls* of all the adjacent Country immediately fulfilled their Promiſes, and formed an Alliance with him; they then ſupplied his Army with Men and Stores, and as ſoon as all the Troops had paſſed the Bridge, *Hannibal* being thus reinforced, went in Purſuit of the *Romans*.

The Conſul had at this Time encamped in *Placentia*, a *Roman* Colony, in order to heal his ſick and wounded, where the *Carthagi-*

nians arrived in three Days, and offered them Battle, but the Conſul not venturing to meet them, they retired.

The *Gauls*, who were in the *Roman* Army under *Scipio*, now ſuppoſing that the *Carthaginians* had the faireſt Proſpect of Succeſs, waited for an Opportunity to execute a perfidious Stratagem which they had concerted. The *Roman* Army retired to reſt after Supper, when the Night was paſſed without Diſturbance; but at Break of Day, the *Gauls* being in Number about 2000 Foot, and 200 Horſe, armed themſelves, ſlew a great Number of the Troops that were next them, and went over to the *Carthaginians*.

Hannibal received them with great Marks of Favour, highly applauded their Courage, and diſmiſſed them to their reſpective Habitations with Promiſes of great Rewards, that they might acquaint their Countrymen with this Tranſaction, and perſuade them to an Alliance with him; for he knew that this Treachery towards the *Romans* would compel their Companions to join him.

Scipio was much concerned at this inſidious Maſſacre; and not doubting but that many of the neighbouring *Gauls*, who were ill affected towards the *Romans* would now join the *Carthaginians*, he thought it the moſt prudent to decamp in the Night, and

march to the Mountain bordering upon the River *Trebia*, as he might not only encamp with Safety, in ſuch an advantageous Situation, but the Country was alſo inhabited by *Roman* Allies.

Hannibal, being informed of their Retreat, immediately diſpatched the *Numidian* Horſe to purſue them, and followed himſelf with the reſt of the Army. The *Numidians* having arrived at the Camp, which the Enemy had but lately left, they ſtayed to ſet fire to it: This Incident was of great Importance to the *Romans*, for moſt of their Infantry muſt have inevitably been deſtroyed by their Horſe upon the open Plains which they were obliged to paſs; but the *Numidians* not purſuing them immediately, moſt of them had Time to paſs the *Trebia*, and only a few of their rear were either ſlain or taken Priſoners.

Scipio, having ſtationed his Troops upon the neareſt Hills, intrenched and fortified his Camp, he waited for the Arrival of his Collegue with the other Legions; and in the mean time carefully attended his Wound, that he might be able to be preſent in any future Engagement.

Hannibal encamped within five Miles of the Enemy; and the *Gauls*, being highly pleaſed with the Succeſs of the *Carthaginians*, ſupplied them with Proviſion and Neceſſaries,

ceſſaries, and were willing to aſſociate with *Hannibal* in all his future Actions, or Dangers.

The people at *Rome* were extremely ſurpriſed at the Account of this late Engagement; and as it was entirely contrary to their Expectations, ſome of them endeavoured to perſuade themſelves that their Troops were not really defeated, and others imputed this Misfortune to the Raſhneſs of the General, or the Treachery of the *Gauls*; but they agreed in repoſing a full Aſſurance of Victory in the *Gauls*; and when *Tiberius*, the other Conſul, marched through the City towards *Scipio*, they flattered themſelves that the War would be determined by the very Appearance of theſe Troops.

Tiberius arrived at *Ariminum* after forty Days march from *Lilybæum*, and encamped near his Collegue *Scipio* in Order to refreſh his Troops; and continually attended *Scipio*, that every neceſſary Preparation might be made, and every proper Meaſure purſued for the future.

At the ſame Time *Hannibal* had taken *Claſtidium* by the Treachery of a *Brunduſian*, who had been intruſted by the *Romans* with the Government of it: He applied the Stores of the Garriſon to his preſent Uſe, and kindly incorporated the Priſoners with his Army, as he thought that this Proceeding would

would be ſuch a Proof of his Diſpoſition, that other People, who might fall into his Power, would have no Occaſion to doubt of his Clemency; and he alſo amply rewarded the Traitor, that other Governours might be tempted to join the *Carthaginian* Intereſt; but hearing that the *Gauls*, who lived between the *Po* and *Trebia*, and who lately formed an Alliance with him, had now a Correſpondence with the *Romans* with a View of ſecuring themſelves from both Parties, he ſent 2000 Foot, and 1000 *Gallic* and *Numidian* Horſe, to ravage their Country. The *Gauls* were much diſpleaſed at the Depredations that were committed by theſe Troops, and went to the *Roman* Camp to requeſt Aſſiſtance; ſo *Tiberius* ſent the greateſt Part of his Cavalry with 1000 light armed Foot to attack the Enemy, which they performed with ſuch Succeſs, that the *Gauls* and *Numidians* were drove back to the *Carthaginian* Camp.

Hannibal was yet quite unprepared for a general Engagement; and not thinking it the Part of a prudent General to endanger the Iſſue of the *whole*, without mature Deliberation, obliged the flying Troops to ſtand, but neither to engage nor purſue the *Romans*, and then ordered the Trumpets to ſound a Retreat; ſo the *Romans* having deſtroyed a conſiderable Number of the

Enemy, with the Loſs of very few Men returned to their Camp.

Tiberius was greatly elated with this Advantage; and propoſing to have a general Engagement as ſoon as poſſible, he conſulted with his Collegue concerning it.

Scipio was of an Opinion, that a Winter's Exerciſe of the Troops, as they were new raiſed, would make them better Soldiers; and alſo, that the natural Levity of the *Gauls*, and their Fondneſs for new Undertakings, would probably excite them to revolt from the *Carthaginians* if they remained inactive; and withal he was for declining a Battle, till the Cure of his Wound would enable him to be of Service to his Country.

Tiberius readily acknowledged the Prudence of this Advice; but his Confidence and Ambition induced him to attempt a deciſive Action, before *Scipio* could be preſent at the Engagement, or the new Conſuls, whoſe Elections were approaching, could ſuperſede him in the Command.

The Sentiments of *Hannibal* on the preſent State of Affairs, exactly correſponded with thoſe of *Scipio*, which prudently led him to the contrary Reſolution of engaging the Enemy immediately; for he wanted to employ the *Gauls* while their Ardour was not yet abated, while the *Roman* Troops were not yet ſufficiently trained, and while

Scipio

Scipio was unable from his Wound to command them; and laſtly, he thought it of great Importance to loſe no Time in Inaction.

For a General who leads an Army into a foreign Country, for the Execution of any great Atchievement, muſt conſider that the conſtant Renewal of the Hopes and Expectations of his Allies, by continual Actions, is the only Expedient that can enſure him Succeſs.

Hannibal now very carefully enquired into the Nature of the adjacent Country; and obſerving that the Ground between the two Camps was an open Plain, and that the Banks of a River which run through it were covered with Shrubs and Buſhes, he thought that they would be a proper Place for an Ambuſcade; ſo having called a Council, he communicated his Deſigns to them.

The Council approved of his Propoſals, and his Brother *Mago*, a Perſon of diſtinguiſhed Bravery was appointed to chuſe out an hundred Foot and as many horſe from the beſt Troops; and each Man was then ordered to ſelect ſome of the braveſt Men out of his reſpective Company, and to wait in a certain Place in the Camp for Orders.

The whole Number which was a thouſand Foot and as many Horſe being aſſembled, and *Mago*, who had the Command, having received

received his Inſtructions, went with the whole Detachment by Night, under the Direction of Guides, to the Place of Ambuſcade.

Hannibal propoſed to engage the *Romans*, before they had taken any Food; ſo he aſſembled the *Numidians* by Break of Day, and encouraging them with the Promiſe of Rewards, he ordered them to paſs the *Trebia*, to advance towards the *Roman* Camp, and endeavour to draw them out to an Action; he then gave his Inſtructions to the Officers, and ordered the Troops to take their uſual Food, and to prepare themſelves and Horſes for the Engagement.

Tiberius, perceiving that the *Numidians* were marching towards the Camp, immediately ſent his Cavalry and 6000 light armed Foot againſt them, and then drew out the whole Army.

It was now Winter, and the Day extremely cold and ſnowy; the *Trebia* had been ſwelled by the Rains in the preceeding Night; and the *Romans* not only found great Difficulty in paſſing it, but, as both Men and Horſes were led out before they received any Food, ſo when the Day expired they became faint through Cold and Hunger.

The *Carthaginians* had refreſhed themſelves and Horſes as uſual, and had oiled and armed

armed themſelves before their Fires in the Camp.

The *Romans* having now croſſed the *Trebia*, *Hannibal* ordered 8000 light armed Foot and *Balearic* Slingers to reinforce the *Numidians*, and placed his Infantry, being in Number 20,000, about a Mile from the Camp; he ſtationed his Cavalry (which with thoſe that the *Gauls* had ſent now conſiſted of 10,000 Men) in each Wing, and an equal Number of Elephants were alſo ranged before the Wings. In the mean time, *Tiberius* perceiving that his Cavalry were entirely ignorant of engaging the *Numidians* in a proper Manner (whoſe Method of fighting was ſuddenly to fly before their Enemy, and immediately to return to the Charge with the ſame Bravery) ordered them to retreat: His Infantry conſiſted of 16,000 *Romans*, and 20,000 Allies; which is reputed a complete Army when both the Conſuls take the Field; his Cavalry was about 4000, which, being placed in the Wings, he marched towards the Enemy.

The Armies now approaching each other, the light armed Forces began the Engagement: The *Roman* Army indeed were in a very improper Condition to fight, for they were not only almoſt ſpent with Fatigue and Hunger, and had diſcharged the greateſt Part of their Javelins againſt the *Numidians*, but

but even thoſe that were left were now rendered uſeleſs by the Rain; and neither their Cavalry, nor the reſt of the Army, were in any better Condition.

The *Carthaginians* on the contrary, came into the Field in their full Strength and Vigour; and as ſoon as the light-armed Forces retired, the heavy-armed Troops, with the Horſe in their Wings, immediately advanced to the Charge; the Cavalry of the *Romans* was much inferior to the Enemy, and unable to ſuſtain their Shock, but while they were thus preſſed in the Front, the *Numidians* then aroſe from the ambuſcade, and attacking their Center from behind, they flung the whole *Roman* Army into Diſorder; the Elephants and light-armed Foot at the ſame Time alſo breaking their Wings, they drove great Part of the Enemy into the River. The foremoſt Ranks of the *Roman* Legions had broke through the *Gauls* and *Africans*; but perceiving that their Wings were routed, and that they ſhould be entirely prevented from recovering their Camp, they formed themſelves in order, and about 10,000 of them retreated to *Placentia*.

Tiberius was very deſirous of concealing this Slaughter from the Senate and People, ſo ſent a Meſſenger to inform them that he had fought a Battle with the Enemy, but had been deprived of Victory by the Winter.

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But a true Account of this Misfortune arriving at *Rome* ſhortly after, they very diligently prepared every neceſſary Supply that was requiſite, both for carrying on the War and for the Security of their own Country.

They ſent an Army into *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, fitted out ſixty Quinqueremes, requeſted Succours of *Hiero*, and completed their Preparations with the greateſt Expedience. For the *Romans* are moſt to be dreaded, both in their publick and private Affairs, whenever the Apprehenſion of any real Danger alarms them.

Hannibal wintered in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, and treated the *Romans* that had been taken in the late Battle with Severity, but behaved with the greateſt Humanity to their Allies; and being ſollicitous of tempting the ſeveral States of *Italy* to join him, he aſſembled theſe People, and told them, that he did not come to make War upon all the Inhabitants of *Italy*, but upon the *Romans*; and that as the principal Deſign of this Expedition was to reſtore them to their Liberty, ſo he hoped they would form an Alliance with him.

At this Time he had recourſe to a Piece of Artifice which was truly *Carthaginian*; for, having particularly obſerved the Levity and Fickleneſs of the *Gauls*, he was apprehenſive, that, as his Alliance and Connection

with them was of ſo late an Exiſtence, this Diſpoſition might probably lead them to form Deſigns againſt his Life. So he ordered different Suits of Hair, with Habits properly adapted to them, to be made; and the Alteration both in his Air and Countenance, by the wearing theſe Habits at different Times, was ſo great, that he was not only unknown to People who had a tranſient View of him, but even to his moſt intimate Acquaintance.

Hannibal began to perceive that the *Gauls* diſliked this Continuance of the War in their Country, and were anxious for him to invade the *Roman* Territories; ſo he enquired into the Nature of the Country he was to paſs through. They told him that the Roads were long and well known to the Enemy; that there was a Paſſage thro' the Marſhes of *Etruria*, which, though difficult, would be ſhort; and withal, that he might probably ſurprize the new Conſul *Flaminius*, who then lay with an Army in *Etruria*, by ſuch an unexpected Attempt.

Hannibal had a natural Inclination to ſuch a Propoſal, ſo was determined to put it in Execution; the army indeed was under the greateſt Apprehenſion of being ſwallowed up in the Pools and Lakes; but their General was informed, that the Bottom was firm; ſo they decamped and began to march:

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the *Spaniards*, *Africans*, and Baggage went firſt; they were followed by the *Gauls*; and the Cavalry came up in the rear under the Conduct of *Mago*, who was ordered to compel the *Gauls* to march if they diſcovered any Inclinations to return.

The *Spaniards* and *Africans* travelled with little Difficulty, as the Soil was whole; but the *Gauls* were extremely haraſſed, as being unuſed to Fatigues; and the Bottom now beginning to be broke, moſt of the Beaſts, which carried the Baggage, periſhed in the Mud; and the whole Army ſuffered greatly for want of Sleep, having paſſed four whole Days in the Marſhes, and unable to get any Reſt, except upon the Baggage which belonged to the Horſes that had died. *Hannibal* himſelf was preſerved with the greateſt Difficulty, he rode upon the only Elephant that was left, but ſuffered great Agony by a Cold which had ſeized his Eyes, and at laſt deſtroyed one of them: But having now unexpectedly paſſed the Marſhes, he encamped upon their Edge in order to refreſh his Troops, to diſcover the Nature of the Country, and the Deſigns of the Enemy. He found that the Place would afford him a noble Booty; that *Flaminius*, who lay with an Army at *Aretium*, was a popular Man at *Rome*; but that he was not only very ignorant of the Adminiſtration of military Af-

fairs, but alſo conceited of his own Abilities.

Hannibal took his Meaſures accordingly; he conjectured, that by marching beyond the Enemy's Camp, and laying waſte the Country, he ſhould provoke *Flaminius* (who probably would be apprehenſive of diſobliging the *Romans* by not ſuppreſſing this Devaſtation) to purſue him, and ſo afford him an Opportunity of drawing the *Roman* Army into an Ambuſcade.

The Opinion which *Hannibal* had formed of his Antagoniſt proved to be a true one; for, having marched from the Plains of *Feſulæ*, he advanced beyond the *Roman* Camp, and plundered the Country.

Flaminius was extremely enraged at this Proceeding, and could not refrain from the moſt violent Expreſſions of Anger; his Officers adviſed him by no Means to engage the *Carthaginians*, as their Cavalry was the beſt, and that it would be moſt prudent for him to wait the Arrival of his Collegue, when his Army would be ſtrengthened.

The Conſul was much diſguſted at theſe Remonſtrances, and was not to be diverted by them from purſuing the Enemy; but telling the Officers that they ſhould conſider what Opinion their Fellow Citizens would entertain of them, if they remained inactive in their Camp behind the Enemy at the

ſame Time that the Country was plundered and laid waſte almoſt to the Walls of *Rome*: ſo neither conſidering the Time nor Place of Action, and only impatient of falling upon the Enemy, as if already aſſured of Conqueſt, he ordered the Enemy to march.

In the mean time, *Hannibal* led his Troops through *Etruria* towards *Rome*, having *Cortona*, and ſome adjacent Mountains on his left, and the Lake of *Thraſymene* on his Right, and continued to burn and deſtroy the Country; but perceiving that *Flaminius* was now approaching, he marched to a Ground that was proper for the Execution of his Deſign, and prepared for the Engagement.

There was a Valley that was incloſed on each Side by a Chain of Mountains, and at the End of it lay a Hill that Nature had rendered almoſt inacceſſible; near the Entrance of the Valley was a Lake, and the Paſſage between the Lake and the Bottom of the Mountains was very narrow.

Hannibal having marched through this Paſſage, and the Valley, he placed the *Africans* and *Spaniards* upon the Hill; he ordered the *Baleares* and light armed Troops to move round from the Van and march behind the Mountains on the Right, and the *Gauls* and Cavalry behind the Mountains on the Left, and to be ſtationed in ſuch a Manner,

that the hindmoſt of them ſhould reach to the Defile, between the Foot of the Mountains and the Lake: Having thus completed the Diſpoſition of his Army by Night, and laid an Ambuſcade in the Valley, he ſilently waited the Event.

Flaminius purſued the Enemy with great Impatience, encamped the firſt Night upon the Lake, and early in the Morning led the Van of his Army into the Valley, with a full Reſolution of overtaking them.

Hannibal, perceiving that the greateſt Part of the *Roman* Troops had entered the Valley, and was very near him, gave the Signal for engaging; when the *Carthaginians* in the Ambuſcade, and the Forces from all Parts of the Mountains, poured down upon the *Romans*, and attacked them in front, flank, and rear, at the ſame Time.

Flaminius and his Officers were in the utmoſt Conſternation at the Suddenneſs of this Aſſault; the Morning being dark and foggy they could not ſee the Enemy, nor know what Orders to give for the Preſervation of the Troops, who were moſtly deſtroyed in Heaps, and not in fighting; for they were now deprived of the Power even of defending themſelves. The Conſul and 15000 *Romans* periſhed in the Valley, and about the ſame Number were taken Priſoners.

Hannibal

Hannibal then ordered his Troops to be refreſhed, and the principal Officers, which had fallen in the Battle to be buried. The whole Loſs of his Army in this Engagement was about 1500 Men, who were chiefly *Gauls*.

The News of this dreadful Slaughter ſhortly reached *Rome*, and the Magiſtrates, being unable to palliate or diminiſh this Misfortune, were obliged to call an Aſſembly of the People to acquaint them with it, and as ſoon as the Prætor from the Roſtrum ſaid, "We have been defeated in a great Battle," the People were immediately thrown into the utmoſt Conſternation, and broke out into the moſt deſpairing Expreſſions of their Calamities; but the Senate indeed conſulted upon the propereſt Meaſures to be taken, both in publick and private Conduct, upon the preſent State of their Affairs.

At the Time of the late Engagement, *Cn. Servilius*, the other Conſul, lay with an Army at *Ariminum*; and hearing that *Hannibal* had entered *Etruria*, and encamped near *Flaminius*, he propoſed to join his Collegue; but, the Army being retarded, he ordered *Cn. Centronius* with 4000 Men to march forwards, that he might reinforce *Flaminius* before the Arrival of the whole Army, if Neceſſity ſhould require it.

Hannibal, after the late Battle, being informed of the Motions of this Detachment, ordered *Maherbal* with the light-armed Troops, and Part of the Cavalry to meet them, when he encountered and ſlew half of this Detachment, and took the reſt Priſoners.

The Battle of *Thraſymene* had been known at *Rome* only three Days, when this Misfortune of *Centronius* increaſed their late Affliction to the deepeſt Anguiſh. The Senate, as well as People, were now intimidated to the laſt Degree. The Buſineſs of the Year was poſtponed, the annual Comitia neglected, and they all concluded, that the Choice of a Dictator was abſolutely neceſſary for the Adminiſtration of their preſent Affairs.

Hannibal did not think proper at this Time to move any nearer towards *Rome*, ſo he marched through the *Inſubrian* and *Picenian* Territories towards *Adria*; laid waſte the Country without any Interruption, and gained ſuch an immenſe Booty, that the Army could neither carry or remove it. So he encamped near *Adria* in a very fertile Country, where he ſolely employed his Attention in refreſhing the Army, and recovering thoſe leprous Diſorders, which the Cold, Fatigues, and Hardſhips they had ſuffered

fered in their Winter Quarters in *Gaul*, and in their Paſſage through the Marſhes, had brought both upon the Men and Horſes.

He armed the *Africans* with the Spoils that had been taken, after the *Roman* Manner; and as he was now near the Sea, for the firſt Time from his Entrance into *Italy*, he ſent Meſſengers to *Carthage*, with an Account of his Tranſactions. The *Carthaginians* were greatly rejoiced at his Succeſs, and very diligently endeavoured to ſupply the Armies both in *Italy* and *Spain* with Succours.

The *Romans* now appointed *Q. Fabius Maximus*, a Perſon of Birth and great Abilities, to be the Dictator, and choſe *M. Minucius*, the Maſter of the Horſe.

Hannibal continued upon the *Adriatic* Coaſt, and waſhing his Horſes with old Wine he recovered them from their ulcerous Complaints, and made uſe of every Expedient to reſtore the Soldiers to their former Spirits and Vigour; he then marched towards *Daunia*, one of the Diſtricts of *Apulia*, and encamped near *Hipponium*.

At this Time, *Fabius*, having offered Sacrifices to the Gods, ſet out from *Rome* with the Maſter of the Horſe, and four new raiſed Legions; and arriving at the Borders of *Daunia*, he joined the Troops which had

had marched from *Ariminum*, diſmiſſed *Cn. Servilius* from his Command, and ſent him to *Rome*, with Orders for him to act as the State of Affairs might require, if the *Carthaginians* ſhould make any Attempt by Sea; and then leading his Troops to *Æca*, he encamped within Six Miles of the *Carthaginians*.

Hannibal, being informed of his Approach, drew out his Army, and marched as far as the very Camp of the *Romans* in order to intimidate the new raiſed Troops; but ſtaying in the Field, for ſome Time, without Oppoſition, he returned.

Fabius was fully reſolved not to make any raſh Attempt, or even to endanger his Troops by a Battle, but enirely to conſult their Safety and Preſervation. He was indeed at firſt accuſed of Fear and Cowardice for theſe Proceedings; but his Conduct was ſhortly after applauded as very judicious, and as the wiſeſt Manner of carrying on the War at that Time. For the *Carthaginian* Army had been bred up in Camps, inured to Fatigues, and accuſtomed to Battles. Their General was trained from his Childhood in the Arts of War, and had always lived amongſt them; he had often been victorious in *Spain*, had twice defeated the *Roman* Legions; and withal, which was of the laſt

laſt Importance, their only Hope of Safety was placed in Conqueſt.

The *Roman* Army was in a quite contrary Situation; ſo *Fabius* would by no Means venture a Battle which he knew could not be proſperous, and might poſſibly be attended with a total Ruin of the State; but being plentifully ſupplied with Men and Proviſions, and well acquainted with the Country, he encamped his Army in convenient Poſts, watched the Motions of the Enemy, and continually intercepted and deſtroyed their Foragers.

Thus he gradually diminiſhed the Numbers of the *Carthaginians*, and at the ſame time, exerciſed and encouraged his young and fearful Soldiers; but could by no Means be perſuaded to venture a general Battle, which induced *Minucius*, and the unthinking Multitude, to accuſe him of Fear and Cowardice.

The *Carthaginian* now paſſed the *Apennine*, and marching into the rich and fertile Country of the *Samnites*, they waſted the Fields of *Beneventum*, a *Roman* Colony, and took *Teleſia* with great Booty.

The *Roman* Army followed them, at one or two Days Diſtance, but never came ſo near as to hazard a Battle.

Hannibal perceiving that *Fabius* would neither engage him nor leave the Field, he boldly determined to march to the Plains of

Capua

Capua near *Falernus*; for he thought that this Proceeding would either compel the *Romans* to a Battle, or convince the World, that they ſubmitted to him as their Conqueror, and that poſſibly the *Italian* States and Cities, might then be excited to revolt; for though the *Romans* had been twice defeated, yet ſo greatly was this Republick revered by its Allies, that none of them had yet formed an Alliance with the *Carthaginians*. So *Hannibal* marched through the Paſs by Mount *Eribanus* and advancing to the River *Athurnus*, which equally divides the Plains, he encamped on the Side next *Rome*, and waſted the Country without Interruption.

Fabius admired the Proceedings and Intrepidity of the *Carthaginians*, but they confirmed him farther in his firſt Reſolution.

Minucius, the Tribunes, and all the other Officers, on the contrary, thought that they ſhould haſten to *Campania*, immediately attack the Enemy, who had now marched to a diſadvantageous Poſt, and ſo preſerve the fineſt Part of *Italy* from Devaſtation.

Fabius marched with the ſame Alacrity, as if he really intended to follow their Advice; but arriving at *Falernus*, he ſhewed his Army at the Bottom of the Mountains, that the Allies might not ſuſpect th t he had left the Field; but ſtill continued only to watch their Motions, and carefully avoided an Engagement,

gagement, both on Account of the forementioned Reaſons, and alſo of the Superiority of the *Carthaginian* Cavalry.

Hannibal perceiving that the Enemy could not be brought to an Engagement, reſolved to decamp and remove the Plunder he had acquired in *Campania*, to a Place of Safety, that it might be ready for the preſent and future Supplies of his Army, and alſo there to Winter.

Fabius obſerving that his Deſign was to return by the ſame Way, which he entered the Plains of *Capua*, and conſidering alſo that the Narrowneſs of the Paſſage afforded him an excellent Opportunity of attacking the *Carthaginian* Army with great Advantage; he ordered 4000 Troops to take Poſſeſſion of the Paſſage, to wait the proper time of Action, and to embrace every favourable Circumſtance that offered. He then poſted the greateſt Part of the Army on a Mountain which commanded the Defiles, and waited for the Arrival of the *Carthaginians*. He carefully examined into the Nature of the Poſts where his Troops ſhould be placed, and having given Directions about the Time and Place of beginning the Attack, and taken every Meaſure that might ſecure Succeſs, the whole Plan of Operations were to be put in Execution the following Day.

Hannibal

Hannibal had now advanced and encamped at the Foot of the Mountains, when the different Situation of the two Armies gave him Reaſon to ſuſpect that the Enemy would probably attempt ſuch a Deſign as they had propoſed; ſo he contrived the following Expedient to defeat it: He ordered all the Labourers of the Army to be aſſembled, and commanded them to provide as much combuſtible Matter, and as many Torches as they could get, and bind them into Bundles of dry Wood, and then to drive 2000 of the ſtrongeſt Oxen that were amongſt the Plunder to ſome Diſtance from the Camp; he then ſhewed them a Hill which lay about half Way between the Camp, and the Defiles that were to be paſſed, and commanded them upon a certain Signal to drive the Oxen to the Top of it; ſo diſmiſſed them to take their Food and Reſt.

About three Hours after Midnight, they were again aſſembled and ordered to bind the Torches and Faggots to the Horns of the Oxen, to ſet them on Fire, and immediately to drive or force the whole Herd up to the Top of the Hill.

The light armed Troops were commanded to aſſiſt the Labourers in driving them; and as ſoon as all the Cattle were put into a proper Courſe of running, they were then ſpeedily to march to the Sides of the Hill with

with Noiſe and Shouting, to engage any Parties of the Enemy they might meet with, and take Poſſeſſion of their Poſts.

At the ſame Time, *Hannibal* led his whole Army to the Defiles, his heavy armed Foot being in the Van, his Cavalry with the Spoil in the Centre, and the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* in the Rear.

When the *Romans*, who had been poſted at the Entrance of the Paſſage, ſaw the Fires on the Hill, they concluded, that *Hannibal* was taking that Rout; ſo leaving the Defiles, they advanced towards the Hill; but approaching the Oxen, they were greatly terrified at their ſtrange Appearance, and ſuppoſed that the moſt imminent Dangers would befall them; ſo very impatiently waited for Day-light that they might diſcover their Meaning.

Fabius was extremely ſurprized at this Event, but ſuſpecting that it covered ſome Deceit of the Enemy, and withal being fixed in his firſt Reſolution of not venturing on a general Engagement, he remained in his Intrenchments till Day.

Hannibal perceiving that Affairs had ſucceeded agreeably to his Deſigns, and that the Guards had left the Defiles, he immediately led his Army through theſe narrow and dangerous Paſſages without the leaſt Interruption from the Enemy; and upon the Approach of Day,

Day, ſent a Reinforcement of *Spaniards* to bring off the light armed Troops from the Hill.

Such was the famous Retreat of *Hannibal* from the Plains of *Capua*, who having now ſafely encamped from the Enemy, began to deliberate upon a proper Place for his Winter Quarters.

The States and Cities of *Italy* were univerſally dejected at this Affair, and reproached *Fabius* of ſuffering the *Carthaginians* to eſcape from their late dangerous Situation through Cowardice; but this General could not yet be diverted from his firſt Reſolution; for being recalled to *Rome* a few Days after to attend the Sacrifices, he delivered the Army to *Minucius*; and earneſtly requeſted of him, to be chiefly concerned, and ſolely to employ himſelf in the Preſervation of his own Troops, and upon no Account whatever to engage the Enemy.

At this Time, the *Roman* Fleet engaged and took twenty five Ships from the *Carthaginians* under *Aſdrubal* upon the Coaſt of *Spain:* This Victory induced the Senate to debate upon their future Proceedings in theſe Parts. They thought that it would not only be advantageous, but abſolutely neceſſary to attack the *Carthaginians* more vigorouſly in *Spain* then ever.

They

They were apprehenſive that the Wealth and Booty, ariſing from this Country, would enable the *Carthaginians* to be the Maſters of the Sea, and withal to ſupply *Hannibal* with Men and Money, to carry on the War in *Italy*.

So they ſent a Reinforcement of twenty Ships to their other Fleet, under the Command of *Publius Scipio*, who greatly promoted the *Roman* Intereſt in *Spain*; and, by the Treachery of *Abilyx*, a *Spaniard* of Rank and Character, advanced it more than could be expected.

This Man had been attached to the *Carthaginian* Party, but conſidering that the *Romans* had now the faireſt Proſpect of Succeſs, he thought it beſt to ingratiate himſelf into their Favour by the following Tranſaction.

When *Hannibal* was preparing to march into *Italy*, he took ſeveral Children of the nobleſt Families out of many Cities, and ordered them to be kept in *Saguntum*, as Hoſtages of their Fidelity. So *Abilyx* took Occaſion, from the late Defeat of the *Carthaginian* Fleet, to repreſent to *Boſtar* their General at *Saguntum*, that as their Power was now weakened in *Spain* by this Misfortune, it would be altogether expedient and proper for him to engage the Alliance of the *Spaniards*, which he ſaid could not be ſo

effectually done as by the Delivery of theſe Children to their Parents.

The General, fully confiding in the Sincerity of the *Spaniard*, agreed to the Propoſal, and entruſted him with the Management of the whole Affair. So *Abilyx*, having got the Children into his Poſſeſſion, delivered them to *Publius Scipio*, the *Roman* General, who immediately ſent them to their reſpective Parents, and by this Inſtance of Clemency and Generoſity, procured many Advantages, and perſuaded ſeveral Cities to form an Alliance with the *Romans*. Such was the State of Affairs in *Spain*.

Hannibal being informed, that there was Plenty of Corn in *Luceria*, propoſed to winter there; and arriving at *Geryon*, a Town about five Miles Diſtance from it, he offered an Alliance with the Inhabitants, but being refuſed, he beſieged it; and, having reduced it, deſtroyed the People, diſpoſed of his Army in the Town, and fortified his Camp. It being Harveſt, he ſent two Parts of his Army to forage, with Orders for them to bring a certain Quantity of Corn to their reſpective Companies every Day; but as the Country was open, and the Foragers very numerous, he remained himſelf in the City, to protect them from any Attacks or Inſults.

Minucius now hearing that the *Carthaginians* had got Poſſeſſion of *Geryon*, and were gathering

gathering Corn from the whole Country, marched immediately to the Plains of *Calela*, and was determined to engage them.

Hannibal perceiving that the *Romans* were approaching, allowed only a third Part of his Army to forage, while he took Poſſeſſion of a Hill about two Miles from *Geryon*, as a Place that would both ſecure his own Foragers and intimidate the Enemy.

In the following Day, *Minucius* aſcended this Hill, and after a ſharp Skirmiſh got Poſſeſſion of it. After this Engagement the Armies continued for ſome Time encamped againſt each other; but at laſt *Hannibal* was obliged to ſend ſome of his Troops to take Care of the Cattle, and others to gather the Harveſt, for having placed his chief Hopes of Victory in his Cavalry, he was deſirous of preſerving the Spoil, and laying in ſuch a Quantity of Corn, as would abundantly ſupply both Men and Horſes with Proviſion in their Winter Quarters.

Minucius, obſerving that the greater Part of the *Carthaginian* Army was thus diſperſed over the Fields, divided his Horſe, and light armed Foot into ſeveral Parties, and ſent them againſt the Enemy, with Orders to ſlay all they met.

Hannibal was greatly diſconcerted at theſe Meaſures, as he was neither able to attack the

Romans, nor to aſſiſt the Foragers; ſo many of them fell by the Enemy.

The *Carthaginian* Affairs were now in a deſperate Situation; they were even ſtormed in their Camp, but bravely defended it till *Aſdrubal* came with 4000 Foragers he had collected and preſerved them from the impending Ruin.

Minucius was greatly elated at the Succeſs of his Troops; and, on the following Day, the *Carthaginians* having left their Camp, he entered it; for *Hannibal* being apprehenſive that the *Romans* would ſeize upon *Geryon*, he retreated thither, and was ever afterwards very cautious of ſending out Foragers.

The News of this Tranſaction, being rather enlarged, was received at *Rome* with great Demonſtrations of Joy; and the long Inactivity of the Army was now no longer attributed to any Want of Courage in the Legions, but to the timorous Behaviour of their late General. The People began to accuſe *Fabius* very heavily of neglecting to embrace the proper Opportunity of promoting the Publick Good, by his Cowardice; and being as much pleaſed with the Conduct of *Minucius*, they introduced a Cuſtom which was never known at *Rome* before; which was, that two Dictators ſhould carry on the ſame War. This unprecedented Beneficence of the People exalted *Minucius* to the

the higheſt Degree of Bravery; he now contemned Dangers of every Kind, and was more than ever determined to engage the Enemy. *Fabius* returned with him to the Army, but not in the leaſt converted from his firſt Opinion; but rather confirmed in the Prudence of it by this late Event. *Minucius*, on the contrary, oppoſed his Meaſures, and was determined upon a general Engagement. So *Fabius* put it to his Choice either to command the Army ſucceſſively, or to have it divided into two Parts; and each Dictator to act with his own as he thought proper. So the Legions were accordingly divided, and encamped at about a Mile and one half from each other. *Hannibal* had diſcovered partly by the Priſoners, and partly by the late Proceedings, this Diſagreement of the *Roman* Generals, and the Raſhneſs and Ambition of *Minucius*. This Event he thought would produce more Diſadvantages to themſelves than to him, and he acted accordingly.

There was a Hill that lay between his Camp, and the Diviſion commanded by *Minucius*, which he propoſed to ſeize upon; and, not doubting but that the *Roman* General, thus exalted with his late Succeſs, would oppoſe him in the Attempt, he contrived the following Expedient. The Places about this Hill were quite bare, but

it abounded with Cavities and hollow Places; ſo *Hannibal* ſent 500 Horſe, and 5000 Foot, into ſeparate Parties, of 200 or 300 each, accordingly as the Places and Cavities could receive them; and, that they might not be diſcovered by the Foragers, they marched to their reſpective Stations by Break of Day.

As the Day opened, *Minucius* perceiving that *Hannibal* propoſed to take Poſſeſſion of this Hill, thought that this Attempt would afford him a proper Opportunity of engaging him with Advantage; ſo he immediately ſent the light armed Troops to engage a Party of *Carthaginians* which *Hannibal* had now ordered to march towards the Hill, and he followed with the Horſe, and Legions, without the leaſt Suſpicion of the Troops that were concealed in the hollow Places. *Hannibal*, now coming up with his Horſe and the reſt of the Army, fell upon the light armed Troops of the *Romans*, and drove them in ſuch a Manner upon the heavy armed Foot, that their whole Army was put into Diſorder. The Signal was now alſo given for the *Carthaginians* who were in the Ambuſcade to begin the Attack; ſo they immediately ruſhed upon the *Romans* from every Part, and committed great Slaughter. *Fabius*, at this Time, having watched the Motions of the Armies, diſcovered what had

had happened; and being apprehenſive that all the Forces under *Minucius* would be deſtroyed, he immediately ordered out his Troops, and went to their Relief; and the diſordered *Romans* perceiving this critical Reinforcement of their Companions, they retreated towards them, but not without the Loſs of great Numbers of their beſt Troops. *Hannibal* was ſtopt in his Purſuit by the Appearance of *Fabius*, whoſe Army being freſh, and ſkilfully diſpoſed, he dared not engage them, and ſo retreated.

Thus ended this Conteſt, when the whole Army under *Minucius* were ſufficiently ſatisfied that they ſhould entirely have been deſtroyed by the Raſhneſs of their General, if the Wiſdom and Prudence of *Fabius* had not thus happily acted for their Preſervation.

The Armies remained in their reſpective Camps during the Winter; but Harveſt approaching, *Hannibal* laid Siege to and reduced the Citadel of *Cannæ*.

The Loſs of this Place greatly diſtreſſed the *Roman* Army, as it was their principal Magazine of Stores, ſo they immediately ſent Meſſengers to *Rome* with an Account of it, and to bring Orders for the future Operations.

The Senate gave it for their Opinion that the preſent Situation of Affairs required that a Battle ſhould be fought. So *Æmilius*, one of the new Conſuls, very carefully endeavoured

to animate and encourage his Troops; he told them, that all the late Misfortunes of their Countrymen, were derived both from the Imprudence of the commanding Officers, and Inexperience of the Troops; but now, ſays he, you have both your Conſuls for Commanders, and yourſelves have alſo often engaged and harraſſed the Enemy. It is impoſſible then that Troops, who have ſo frequently conquered in equal Encounters, ſhould loſe the Victory, when our Numbers are now twice as great as the *Carthaginians*.

But theſe are Exhortations only fit for Mercenaries; you muſt conſider, *Romans*, that you are not to fight for the Defence of yourſelves only, but for the Preſervation of your Wives and Children; and who of you, after ſuch Reflections, would not chuſe to conquer or die, rather than live to ſee theſe dear and tender Pledges torn from you and abuſed. Remember likewiſe, that not the Fate of theſe Legions only are concerned, but that the whole Republick, that *Rome* herſelf muſt fall if we are defeated. Shew then yourſelves to be the Children of your Country, and let the World know, that our late Misfortunes did not proceed from any ſuperior Courage in the Enemy, but from the Want of Experience in our own Troops.

Æmilius and *Varro* the two Conſuls took the Command of the Army alternately every Day,

Day, and the firſt being a very judicious Officer, endeavoured to draw the Enemy, upon a narrow irregular Ground, where the Infantry would be moſt uſeful as the *Carthaginian* Cavalry was much ſuperior to the *Roman*; but *Varro*, who was of a contrary Opinion to his Collegue, ordered all the Troops to leave their Intrenchments the following Day, and to march towards the Enemy.

Hannibal perceiving, by the Motions of the Enemy, that a Battle would ſhortly enſue, aſſembled his Troops, and looking upon the open Country, to which the *Roman* Army had marched, he ſaid,

" Tell me, if the Gods had left the Ground upon which the War is to be decided by this Battle, to your Choice, whether, as you are ſo ſuperior to the *Romans* in your Cavalry, you could have fixed upon a better.

Return then Thanks to the Gods for leading your Enemies to theſe Plains, and then to me for forcing them to a Battle. You have conquered the *Romans* in three ſucceſſive Engagements, which gained you the Poſſeſſion of an open Country; but now Towns and Cities, with their Treaſures, will be your Spoils. Victory in this Battle will ſecure all *Italy*, all the Wealth and Power of the *Romans*, and you will at once end your Troubles and become the Sovereigns of the World."

The

The Battle enſued, and was fought with equal Bravery and Ardour on both Sides, till at laſt the *Romans* were entirely defeated, having 70,000 Men, and 6000 Horſes ſlain, and about 10,000 taken Priſoners.

Hannibal had very numerous Congratulations paid him upon this important Victory; and his Army being harraſſed with their great Fatigues, he was perſuaded to reſt and refreſh them. *Maherbal* oppoſed this Propoſal, and ſaid to *Hannibal*,

" That you may know the Conſequence of this Victory, follow me, and you ſhall ſhortly ſup in the Capital." He approved of his Advice, but ſaid, that ſome Time ſhould be taken to conſider of it.

Maherbal anſwered, " It is plain, that the Gods have not endued the ſame Man with every qualification. You know how to conquer, *Hannibal*, but you do not know how to make Uſe of Victory."

The Senate and Nobles were in the utmoſt Conſternation at this fatal Defeat, and all *Rome* reſounded with the Lamentations of the People. So *Fabius* called a Council for the Preſervation of the City, and ordered that Meſſengers ſhould be immediately ſent upon the *Appian* and *Latin* Ways to enquire into the Motions and Deſigns of *Hannibal*, and into the State of their Conſul and Army; that the Women ſhould be kept within Doors,

and

and all Noiſe and Tumult be baniſhed the City; that the Meſſengers ſhould be privately conducted to the Prætors, and that Guards ſhould be placed to prevent all Perſons from paſſing through the Gates of the City.

Hannibal marched from *Cannæ* to *Capua*; and having reduced the Country, he refreſhed his Troops with its fertile Productions; he afterwards ſubdued *Nuceria* and *Caſilinum*, but laying Siege to *Nola*, *Marcellus* the *Roman* Officer ſallied upon him, and ſlew five thouſand Men, and took about ſix hundred Priſoners.

The *Carthaginian* Power in *Italy* now began to diminiſh very faſt; this late Defeat had encouraged many of the remaining Troops to deſert their General, and a powerful Reinforcement which had been ſent him from *Carthage* under *Aſdrubal*, was entirely cut off with the Loſs of fifty ſix thouſand Men.

The *Roman* Power on the contrary began gradually to increaſe; the Love of their Country again actuated theſe People with the greateſt Zeal, for the Preſervation of the Republick; and, as its Finances were exhauſted, and its Armies deſtroyed, they each of them, according to their ſeveral Abilities, contributed Money, towards raiſing Troops, who were immediately trained and exercited, and within a few Years after the Battle of *Cannæ*.

Scipio

Scipio (who was named *Africanus)* conquered all *Spain*, marched with an Army into *Africa*, and compelled the *Carthaginians* to recal *Hannibal* from *Italy*, for the Defence of his own Country.

The Conduct of this famous General hath been condemned, for not marching immediately after the Battle of *Cannæ*, to the Gates of *Rome*, when he might at once (as it hath been ſuppoſed) entirely have ſubverted the whole *Roman* Empire; but it is extremely unaccountable, that ſo great an Officer ſhould be guilty of ſuch a notorious and fatal Miſtake; and if the Nature and Condition of his Army, which was moſtly Cavalry, and ſo would be of no Service in the Streets of *Rome*, will not ſufficiently excuſe his Proceedings at that Time; this whole Plan of his Actions, and the numerous Proofs he hath given of his great Abilities will certainly oblige us to believe, that his Army was ſo greatly fatigued and weakened, or that the Power of the *Romans* in their City, was ſtill ſo conſiderable as not to afford him the leaſt Proſpect of meeting with Succeſs in ſuch an Attempt; or that there is ſome other Reaſon unknown to Poſterity, which induced the immortal *Hannibal* not to purſue this Victory.

The *Romans* and *Carthaginians* had in the mean Time agreed to a Treaty of Peace; but the latter being encouraged with the Hopes

of

of Victory, by the Arrival of *Hannibal* in *Africa*, they treacherouſly broke it. So each Party again prepared for a Battle; but *Hannibal* was of Opinion, that the Treaty of Peace ſhould be renewed; ſo he deſired an Interview with *Scipio* the *Roman* General.

When *Hannibal* had related to *Scipio* the original Cauſe of the Diſputes, which had ſo long divided their reſpective Countries, he ſaid, " It now remains that we " deprecate the Anger of the Gods, and put " an End to the War. I have indeed been " taught by Experience the Mutability of " Fortune, that the greateſt and moſt un- " expected Events, are often produced by " the Intervention of the moſt trivial Cir- " cumſtances, and ſo am prepared for Peace. " You are young, *Scipio*, and have met with " a conſtant Series of her Favours, without " any Interruption; and therefore I fear that " you will not rely upon my Words, though " they are ſo worthy of your Obſervation. " For I do not ſpeak of what hath happen- " ed of old, but of Events which I myſelf " have met with and experienced. I am " *Hannibal*—who, after the Battle of *Cannæ*, " almoſt reduced all *Italy*, and propoſed to " enter *Rome* itſelf; and being within five " Miles of it, I ſat down and deliberated " upon the Fate of that famous City, and

" of

" of the Manner in which I ſhould diſpoſe
" of its Dominions. But, I am now come
" to *Africa* to treat with you who are a
" *Roman*, about the Safety of my own
" Country. After theſe Reflections, *Scipio*,
" I would not have you be too high in your
" Propoſals, but act as if you did not forget
" the Uncertainty of human Affairs. *Sicily*,
" *Sardinia*, *Spain*, the *Italian* and *African*
" Iſlands ſhall be ceded to the *Romans*; and
" let Peace, which will derive Honour to
" yourſelf and Country, again ſucceed be-
" tween *Rome* and *Carthage*."

Scipio anſwered, " It is not unknown to
" you, *Hannibal*, that the *Romans* were
" neither the Authors of the War in *Spain*
" nor *Sicily*; and as the Gods are Eye-Wit-
" neſſes to all our Actions, ſo they will un-
" doubtedly decree Victory to us, who only
" repel Force by Force, and not to the
" *Carthaginians*, who have behaved ſo
" treacherouſly. I am well acquainted
" with the Viciſſitudes of Fortune, and have
" the cleareſt Idea of human Failings; and
" if you had offered theſe Terms before the
" *Romans* had entered *Africa*, they might
" poſſibly have been accepted; but as you
" was compelled to leave *Italy*, to defend
" your own Country, which is now poſſeſſed
" by the *Roman* Army; who doth not per-
" ceive the Difference?

" The

" The *Carthaginians* muſt reſtore all their " Captives without Ranſom, deliver up all " their Ships, and pay 5000 Talents. If " you do not approve of theſe Terms, let " the Sword decide it."

So the Battle of *Zama* enſued, and Victory was now to determine, whether *Rome* or *Carthage* was to give Laws to the World; when, after the nobleſt Struggle between theſe two celebrated Heroes, and formidable Armies, it declared for the former; and a Peace was concluded between theſe Powers, after the War had continued for ſeventeen Years.

But the Ambition of *Rome* was yet diſſatisfied: She could not remember the Injuries which the *Carthaginians* had committed, without a farther Deſire of Revenge, or reflect upon a Revival of their Power, without a Reſolution of deſtroying it. So about fifty Years after the ſecond Punic War, the third and laſt ſucceeded when the *Carthaginian* State was ſubverted, and its City raſed.

Rome had now no Rival left to conteſt with for the Laurels of Honour; ſhe had conquered *Africa*, *Spain*, *Gaul*, *Greece*, and was preparing to make War upon *Antiochus*, King of *Syria*; whom ſhe ſhortly after defeated at *Magneſia*, ſlew 50,000 *Syrians*, and took 4000 Priſoners.

But

But theſe Conquerors of the World had now arrived at the very Summit of their Glory; and within a few Years after this Victory, they declined into a State of the greateſt Abjection. The *Romans* were much enriched by the Spoils and Booty of the Eaſt: And *Aſiatic* Wealth and Luxury ſhortly diſſolved that Virtue and Heroiſm, which before exalted them. The moſt voluptuous Banquets, the moſt ſplendid Rooms and Furniture, and the moſt coſtly Apparel, were introduced.

Their Manners grew corrupt, and every Vice that Bribery or Intereſt could raiſe, was nouriſhed. Intrigue and Artifice ſoon found that a *Roman* was now no longer unwilling to gratify its ambitious Views or ſiniſter Deſigns.

The Citizens divided into Parties; civil Diſſenſions were at firſt ſown by the *Gracchi*, and ſo frequently practiſed afterwards, that thoſe *Romans*, who had united in conquering almoſt all Mankind, now waged War upon each other. Thus Corruption at firſt ſeized the Branches, and then the Vitals, and, at the laſt, the Virtue and Liberty of that Republick, which had extended her Arms over the greateſt Part of the known World, faded and fell under the political and martial Spirit of *Cæſar*.

" I have

I have now, my Brethren, finiſhed the Abſtract I propoſed to give you, in which you perceive that the Love of Liberty, and of their Country, rendered *Greece* invincible to all the Powers of *Perſia*; and that the very ſame Principles twice preſerved *Rome* from being deſtroyed by *Carthage*. And as both theſe famous Republicks flouriſhed and acquired Honour and Conqueſt under the Influence of theſe Virtues; ſo did they both decay and periſh when theſe Virtues were no more: For Diſſenſions deſtroyed *Greece*, and Luxury *Rome*.

Time will not allow me to enumerate the ſeveral Parts of this Abſtract, which may be ſimilar to the Circumſtances of this Kingdom, theſe then muſt be left to your own Application; and I ſhall only remark a particular Point of it in the firſt *Carthaginian* War, as relative to the preſent Subject of a Militia.

The *Carthaginian* Fleet was now deſtroyed, their Revenues exhauſted, and their Country laid Waſte, ſo they were obliged to ſend to *Rome* to requeſt a Peace.

But did not this State thus reduced in this War, almoſt deſtroy the whole *Roman* Power in the next; becauſe her Troops were raw, new raiſed, and unexperienced?

Did not *Carthage* produce a Hero, who (if he had been properly ſupported) might probably have overturned *Rome* itſelf?

The Enemy's Fleet have been alſo deſtroyed, her Revenues are exhauſted, and her Colonies laid waſte; and the Threats of an Invaſion are probably political, or it may be the laſt Struggle of the expiring Power of *France*, and ſhe may ſhortly be compelled to ſue for Peace.

But ſhould not the Diſpoſition of theſe People (who ſeem to entertain the ſame Sentiments towards this Nation, that *Hannibal* had of *Rome*, when his Father made him ſwear at the Altar, that he would never be a Friend to the *Romans)* induce us to prepare ourſelves, by the Promotion of a military Spirit, againſt any Attempts hereafter, leſt we be expoſed to the ſame Dangers that *Rome* experienced, or leaſt *France* ſhould produce ſome future *Hannibal*, and *Britain* have no *Fabius* or *Scipio* to preſerve her.

Theſe are Examples, my Brethren, which exceed Declamation, as much as Practiſe excels Theory; and if your Fellow-Countrymen are not excited to admire thoſe Virtues, and avoid thoſe Vices, whoſe certain Conſequence they are taught by Facts; then an Obſervation of *Cato* (who complaining of the Luxury and Indolence of a People, ſaid,

that it was a difficult thing to ſpeak to a Belly without Ears) may not be improperly applied to them: and I ſhould be glad to ſee a Law, which was inſtituted by *Charondas*, introduced into this Kingdom; which was, that if any Perſon refuſed to fight for the Defence of his Country, he was cloathed in a Woman's Habit, and publickly expoſed in the Forum, or Market-Place, for three Days.

Your Conduct, my Brethren, hath been applauded by the Royal Favour, which ſhould excite every *Engliſhman* to purſue it; and they ſhould farther be induced to put this Act in Execution when they reflect that the principal Reaſon why *Rome* was ſo often preſerved in its greateſt Dangers, and conquered *Carthage* in the End, was derived from her being defended by her own People, who fought for their Children, Wives, and Country; when the Safety of her Adverſary depended upon the uncertain Conduct of Mercenaries and Foreigners.

Let then the Love of Liberty, and our Country, animate us all to promote that martial Spirit which ſo faſt revives; and let us, like *Romans*, become the moſt formidable, when moſt threatened with Danger.

What is it, my Brethren, that Men, inured to Diſcipline and Exerciſe, and conducted by experienced Officers, cannot perform? What Difficulties cannot an *Engliſhman* ſurmount, when he is awakened by the Conſideration of all his valuable Advantages?

Cannot we boaſt of as happy a Government as that of *Sparta*; of as much Liberty as was known at *Athens*; and are not our Children, Wives, and Country, as dear to us, as they were to a *Roman*?

The State now calls for our Aſſiſtance, and *Pericles* told the *Athenians*, that the Welfare of a City was better for a private Man, than if the Subject was proſperous, and the City decayed; ſince the Ruin of the State muſt neceſſarily be attended with the Ruin of its Subjects, but that the Misfortunes of an Individual may be recovered in a flouriſhing Nation.

This ſtriking Obſervation proves, that it is the Intereſt, as well as Duty, of every Subject, to exert himſelf in the Defence of his Country; and the great Amendment which we have ſeen in our Affairs, within a ſmall Space of Time, afford us the moſt undoubted Reaſon to believe, that they will ſucceſsfully terminate if not prevented, by ourſelves.

We

We have a Miniſter, who (as *Themiſtocles* ſaid of himſelf) is like a Plane Tree, under which the People went for Shelter in a Storm. Since then he hath preſerved us from our late Diſtreſs, let us now unanimouſly purſue the Means that may advance his great Deſign, and not be like the inconſiderate *Athenians*, who, *when it was fair again, paſſed by it with Scorn and Reproaches.*

I ſhall conclude this long Epiſtle, my Brethren, with requeſting you to excuſe any Faults you may diſcover in it, as it was haſtily drawn up from *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, *Polybius*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, on Account of the preſent Situation of Affairs; and will only relate a Piece of Hiſtory, which may not be improperly applied to its Subject.

When *Lycurgus* wanted to reform the *Spartans* from a Life of Luxury and Indolence to Exerciſe and Virtue, he made Uſe of the following Expedient.

He ordered two Dogs to be brought before them, one of which had been brought up in Idleneſs and Gluttony at Home, and the other always trained to the Exerciſe of the Field; he then ordered a Hare to be placed before theſe Creatures, which they both immediately purſued; but the laſt could only run to catch it.

You

You ſee, ſays he, my Countrymen, how different are the ſame Creatures made by Exerciſe and Diſcipline, and that we are certainly formed to Virtue and Excellence, more by Education than Nature.

Your reſpectful Brother,

From my Kitchen at Caſtle Riſing, Norfolk, Aug. 16, 1759.

The DUMPLING-EATER.

POSTSCRIPT.

I JUST now received the following Propoſal from a Well-Wiſher to his Country, of raiſing a very conſiderable Reinforcement to the Militia, if any dangerous Emergency ſhould ever require it to be put in Execution. He ſays,

Might not ten Battalions of Attor—s, conſiſting of 1000 Men each, and a large Body

Body of Light Horſe, compoſed of the Gentlemen of the *Turf*, be immediately draughted off and exerciſed.

Theſe Troops, as already diſtinguiſhed for Acuteneſs and Action, would be ſhortly qualified, by proper Diſcipline, to be employed in the Service of the Nation. Perhaps indeed ſome Method might be neceſſary to be taken, in order to increaſe the Fortitude of the Infantry; for many of them may poſſibly have a Conſcience not altogether *void of Offence*, and ſo might not be able to face Danger with the Intrepidity that is requiſite in a Soldier; but in that Caſe might they not be incorporated with an equal Number of the inferior Members of the Church (rather indeed than of the phyſical Tribe, who having been lately tranſmigrated into *Midwives* cannot well be ſpared by the Good Women from Home) who, being leſs converſant with the good Things of this Life, and having few or no Opportunities of tranſgreſſing the Laws of Juſtice and Equity, may be ſuppoſed to look on Death with a leſs Degree of Trepidation, and might encourage their Companions to do the ſame.

But the latter might be put under the Command of the Expeditious Hero, who rode fifty Miles within two Hours, and would be very

very ſerviceable in bringing Intelligence, in
hearkning and attending the Motions of the
Enemy, or, if Occaſion required, as they are
not perfect Strangers to Intrigue and Art
ſome, they might be employed as Spies.

An excellent Band of Muſick might al
be taken from the numerous Company
Fidlers and Muſicians; and thus would
ſalutary Effects be derived from this Pl
to the State would be both purged and de
fended.

FINIS.

Lately publiſhed and ſold by M. COOPER, *in*
ter-Noſter-Row,

S on Mr. HUME's Natural
Hiſtory of Religion.

With DISSERTATIONS on Heathen Idolatry, an
the Chriſtian Religion. By S. T.